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The following papers on the current status of the foreign language teaching profession are included: (1) "The View on the Way Up: A Wider Perspective," by Wilga M. Rivers; (2) "Educational Goals: The Foreign Language Teacher's Response," also by Rivers; (3) "Cindy: A Learner in Today's Foreign Language Classroom," by Carol Hosenfeld; and (4) "The Second Language Teacher: Reconciling the Vision with the Reality," by Gilbert A. Jarvis. (JB)

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NORTHEAST CONFERENCE

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About the Northeast Conference

It began in 1954 as an outgrowth of the Yale-Barnard Conference on the Teaching of French. During its twenty-six years, the focus of the annual Conference has been on effective learning of languages, all those commonly taught in this country, ancient and modern, including English as a second language. In preparation for each annual Conference, Working Committees meet at intervals during the year, writing successive drafts of Reports published as the *Northeast Conference Reports,* which serve as the basis for the Conference discussions. In order that the discussions may be judiciously based on the *Reports,* they are mailed to Conference preregistrants a month in advance of the Conference.

In addition to the Working Committee general sessions, there are showings of teaching films, workshops, and exhibits of textbooks and other teaching aids. The Conference is sponsored by hundreds of schools, colleges, and educational associations. Representatives of those sponsoring institutions form an Advisory Council, whose members meet at the end of each Conference.

Over the years the Conference has become the largest and most influential gathering of foreign language teachers in the country. Some 3,000 teachers from across the nation and many foreign countries now attend each annual meeting. The Northeast Conference has encouraged and aided the formation of other similar regional associations: the Southern Conference in 1965 and the Central States Conference in 1968.

The Conference has four awards: the Donald D. Walsh Foreign Language Research Grant, the annual Stephen A. Freeman Award for a published article on teaching techniques, the Foreign Language Advocate Award, and the Nelson H. Brooks Award for Distinguished Service and Leadership in the Profession.

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NORTHEAST CONFERENCE ON THE TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES

THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNER IN TODAY'S CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENT

Warren C. Born, Editor
Paul D. Cincinnato, Chairman

1979

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Preface

Almost twenty-two years have elapsed since the launch of Sputnik. This was the most important single factor responsible for a metamorphosis that was to set new directions for foreign language learning and teaching in our schools and colleges. Many excellent and challenging concepts have evolved during this period. The majority of them are just as valid today as they were two decades ago.

In 1979, however, we know a great deal more about this enigma called the *learner* than we knew even a few short years ago. This knowledge has led the teaching profession in general to a reappraisal of long-standing educational goals. Leading foreign language education scholars have reassessed the rationale for foreign language study, have focused on new or realigned goals for foreign language learning and teaching, and have developed — and continue to develop — strategies that will yield the best possible results for the learner.

As a result of the research and experimentation conducted in the area of psycholinguistics, the classroom teacher can now understand that there are many forces that shape the attitude and behavior of today's foreign language learner. These are not always the direct result of what takes place in the classroom. They may be influenced by all that has formulated the learner's personality since birth.

Given these attitudinal and motivational forces, we must address the questions of goal relevance, goal priorities, learning strategies that will complement differing learning styles, and appropriate teaching strategies that will successfully nurture these varying learning styles. Hopefully, when these components come together, the result will be, in particular, a successful foreign language student and, in general, a happy ambassador of good will in behalf of foreign language education.

The 1979 *Northeast Conference Reports* have assumed the difficult task of clarifying and demonstrating these developments. To this end we have divided the *Reports* into three parts. The first treats today's educational goals as they apply to the foreign language learner. The second concentrates on the foreign language learner through the demonstration and discussion of learning styles and learning strategies. The third attempts to reconcile the perennial question of vision versus reality; a problem that the foreign language teacher has been facing for decades.

It is hoped that this volume will serve as a practical guide to the classroom teacher in dealing with the foreign language learner of today.

Paul D. Cincinnato

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Wilga M. Rivers
Harvard University

*The View on the Way Up: A Wider Perspective**

We often talk about cycles or swings of the pendulum in language teaching. I prefer a different metaphor. Do you remember all those cathedral towers you have climbed in Europe? The sore muscles and the puffed pauses on narrow landings? The views on the way up and the view from the top?

As we come to the first slit in the wall, we peer out and see a school with some children playing in the yard. At the next slit, we are looking out over a farm. A young boy is bringing some cows into the yard. Around we go, and there's another slit, through which we see glinting the water of a small river. Next we look out at the sea, with the waves breaking on the sandy shore. As we continue past the landing to the next flight of stairs, we discover that the school is out in the fields. There's a track leading to a wood. Then the farm comes back into view, and we see the farmer on his tractor gathering bales of hay. He's going out of sight. In a few moments, we see him again as he reaches the fence by the river. At the next chink, we see that the river flows into the sea further along the shore. As we go around and up, we find the track through the woods comes out behind the farmhouse, and on the far bank of the river is a village with a road running down to a small cove where fishing smacks are at anchor.

As we mount, then, we see wider and wider perspectives. Each time around, as we see different parts of the landscape in greater depth, individual elements begin to form comprehensible relationships, and one part is seen to be intimately interdependent with another.

Isn't this what we have been experiencing in language teaching—changing perspectives of what is basically the same landscape? The school, the farm, the village, the sea—how, we wonder, are they related? Why are they in such close proximity as this? Is there a deeper, underlying rationale we have not yet perceived at the level we have reached?

For purposes of discussion I shall call the four sides of our tower the Why, the What, the How, and the Who of language teaching. The *Why* will refer to both rationale and objectives. For what reasons are we teaching languages in this day and age, and toward what objectives are we directing our efforts? These, we will find, are as closely related as the sea and the fishing smacks at anchor. The *What* refers to the nature of language (the substance of our teaching), as well as to the content of our courses. Here again there is a close relationship like that of the fields and the hay. The *How* refers to the way language is acquired and determines approach, method, techniques, and materials (the

*An address presented at the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages on 14 April 1978 in New York, N.Y.

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teacher's contribution to language learning). The *Who* refers to our clientele—the language learners. Who are they? What are their needs and wants, their aspirations, their learning styles, and their aptitudes?

Let's look now at some of the early stages of our progress up the language-teaching tower, what we thought we were seeing, and the importance we placed on our partial insights.

We'll come in at the grammar-translation landing. There was no doubt about the *Why* in those days! When the method was first developed and swept Europe like wildfire, modern languages were trying to establish themselves as a respectable study for intelligent students, as a study which made a real contribution to mental training and intellectual development. Clearly, the aim of modern languages was to prepare students to read and appreciate great literature and philosophy, a goal which was to be reached by serious mental effort in language study.

For the *What*, therefore, there was much study of structure, understanding of grammar rules and applying them, particularly through translation, and much memorizing of long vocabulary lists. As soon as possible, one was reading (or translating) difficult descriptive and expository passages, studying sixteenth-century poetry, seventeenth-century plays, and eighteenth-century philosophical treatises. This was the period when it was quite acceptable to pronounce b-o-i-s in French as *boys*. After all, as one Oxford professor is said to have remarked, "My concierge speaks French fluently, but I wouldn't employ her in my department."

The *How* was the deductive presentation of rules and explaining of structure, followed by exercises and translation of passages of prose (and sometimes poetry) to make the students conscious of the contribution of each word or syntactic structure.

Who, then, were the students? Clearly they were an elite. Only the intellectual, abstract thinker need apply. Those who could not reach the required standards were expected to drop out early in the sequence. As one of my colleagues who was addicted to this approach to teaching used to say: "I can only teach the A students!" The *Why* at this period led logically to the *What*; the *What* led to the *How*; and these determined the *Who*, that is, the type of student who might want such a course and who had any possibility of completing it successfully.

Next came the audiolingual period. To the question: "Why teach foreign languages?" the answer was clear. Apart from its intrinsic values, still undisputed within the profession, the national interest demanded it. From the needs of the army to the post-Sputnik trauma, it was clear that Americans needed to understand and be understood. How could the peace be built if peoples of different cultures and different languages did not understand each other? And this included peoples of very different cultures, too—not only French, German, and Spanish were important, but Chinese, Russian, and Ewe as well.

So the concentration was on the *What* and the *How*. What was language basically, and how was it acquired? Clearly, language for communication was primarily spoken, although reading the written language was also important for some. Language it was believed was, in Trager's words, "a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which the members of a society interact in terms of their total culture."[1] Language and

1. G. L. Trager, "The Field of Linguistics," quoted in W.M. Rivers, *The Psychologist and the Foreign-Language Teacher* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 24.

culture were intertwined. *How* then was language acquired? The accepted answer was that our knowledge of and ability to use the language reflected a set of habits built in by reinforcement or reward, that is, by confirmation of their efficacy. Mastery of a language to a level of near-native performance, primarily in listening and speaking, became the goal, and this required a long sequence of study. This mastery would be achieved by building in habits of language use through the memorization of building blocks of communicative language material and by drilling in the use of structural frameworks. I shall not dwell in detail on how this was done, since it is well-known to all of us. Common expectations were quick-fire response, active participation of students as frequently as possible through choral and individual response and in language laboratory work, avoidance of possible error through the structuring of the materials, immediate confirmation of right response, the move from language practice to analysis and the use of near-authentic materials and native speed of speech.

Who then were the clientele? Those who could stay the course. Aptitude tests were developed to detect the weaker candidates, and there was a natural selection by attrition. Teachers tried to broaden the clientele, but near-native mastery is an attainable goal only for the few. The *Why* seemed self-evident, so emphasis fell on the *What* and the *How*.

At the second landing, we begin another round of the tower. This leads us to the so-called cognitive-code approach. I say 'so-called' because it was based on a very limited view of what is 'cognitive.' All processes which involve the mind are cognitive. As I said in the "Foreign-Language Teacher and Cognitive Psychology" (*Speaking in Many Tongues*, 1972), perceiving a sound or word, imitation of a sound or phrase, analysis of an utterance into functional components, categorizing components, constructing a similar utterance by analogy, inferencing, repeating accurately what someone else has said, adapting this to a new context—all involve cognitive processes. Let us be clear what we are talking about when we use technical vocabulary.

The cognitive-code approach broke with audiolingualism over the *What* and the *How*. *What* is language and *how* is it acquired? Here language teachers were dragged somewhat bewildered into squabbles among linguists, and even the linguists didn't agree on the application, *if any*, of their theories. (See *Northeast Conference Reports*, 1966). Language is not 'a system of arbitrary vocal symbols' linguistically, nor 'a system of habits' psychologically, we were told. Instead, human beings come into the world with innate language-learning abilities, a language acquisition device which proceeds by hypothesis-testing. Children make hypotheses about the form of the grammar to which they are attending and compare this with their innate knowledge of the grammar of a possible language which is congruent with the abstract principles of universal grammar. This grammar is capable of generating, through ordered sets of transformations, the many surface variations of the specific language to which the child is attending. In this way, the individual's competence, or internalized knowledge of the grammar of the first language, is built up. Language use, or performance, is thus role-governed behavior which enables the speakers to create new utterances which conform to the rules they have internalized.

This theory led in two directions: the first was up a set of steps into the bell-ringer's room. This room had a restricted view, rather like that from the first level, because of

an obscuring gargoyle. The other direction was up to the next level. We'll follow the deviation to the bell-ringer's room first.

Seizing on the idea of 'rule-governed behavior,' a 'cognitive-code learning method' or 'cognitive approach' was proposed which had a view rather similar to that of the grammar-translation method; it was acknowledged to be a 'modified grammar-translation approach.' Basically, it recommended explaining grammar rules, practicing their use through exercises, and then seeing them in action in the context of reading (or listening) materials. This is a process of language analysis, then application, and then synthesis. It is a deductive approach: from rule to application. Students were to acquire 'competence' first, before being asked to 'perform.' The *What* and the *How* predominate here. We hear little about the *Why* or the *Who*.

Taking the other direction from the same basic theory, we arrive at level three: natural language learning. If you think you've heard of this before, 'natural' methods have been with us for a long time. (They were the focus of much controversy in the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century.) Language teachers have always been fascinated by the experience of little children learning their first language. It seems to us so effortless, so enjoyable, and so successful, in contrast to most classroom language learning, that we feel we should be able to reproduce it.

Starting from the *How* of first-language learning which I have just discussed, natural language learning builds on the premise that human beings have an innate language-learning capacity which proceeds by hypothesis-testing. Second language learners, then, are perceived as proceeding through a series of approximate interim grammars, or interlanguages, as they gradually acquire the full grammar of the language. These partial grammars are an essential stage in the learning process, as learners test out hypotheses as to the real nature of the grammar of the new language. These hypotheses are borne out or refuted as the individuals try to communicate and are, or are not, successful in conveying their meaning.

The *Who* now enters the picture. Who are our language learners? Individuals who have already learned one language by a natural process. They retain a certain capacity for *acquiring* language naturally through communication and interaction in the language, as well as for *learning* it in a more structured fashion. The stage is set so that the students decide when they will begin using the language. The *What* is social interaction, and this becomes the course content. As students hear and use the language, they acquire structure—a clearly inductive procedure. *Why* make this effort? Because people have a natural desire to communicate, and we can build on this. Curran's Community Language Learning fits into this paradigm, as learners attempt to communicate from the beginning with the help of counselors who supply the new words and structures for what the learners want to say.

The more orthodox supporters of natural language learning, however, have learned something on the way up. In the nineteenth century, proponents of the natural method rejected all grammars and dictionaries and all visual representations of the language for long periods of time. This time around, by contrast, systematic study of the grammar is retained. Grammar is studied by the students out of class, so that class time can be devoted to focused communication and interaction activities. Through these activities, language may be acquired in a natural way through use. This means skill-using in class, and skill-getting as preparation out of class. Vocabulary is back. To facilitate

understanding and using the language to express their own meaning, students acquire a wide vocabulary.

Now we proceed out onto the platform at the top of the tower to view the whole landscape and gather the various parts into perspective. What does our wider perspective on language teaching bring to our notice?

We have had the *Why, What, How, Who* priorities of the grammar-translation approach; the *What, How, Who* emphasis of the audiolingual approach; and the competing *What* and *How* of the cognitive-code learning approach. Natural language learning began with *How* and brought *Who* to the fore, these providing the rationale for the *What* and the *Why*.

Now, in the fresh spring air at the top, we see that the *Who* which has been rising through our various experiences now becomes the pervasive factor which interrelates the other elements in our programs. The individualization emphasis was the view down the light well which made us aware of the centrality of the *Who*. It cast light at any of our levels. Once the *Why* and the *What* were established, individualization provided a way of adapting the *How* to the *Who*.

The basic question from our viewpoint at the top is: *Who* are our students? with its corollary: *What* are their needs and wants? As educators we then have to strike a balance between these needs and wants.

How do we find out who our students really are and what they are seeking in language learning? *We ask them*. We don't look at neighboring schools, trends in the profession, or trends in textbooks to guide us. We look at our own students. The 1970 *Northeast Conference Reports* provided a useful questionnaire to help us find out about our students. I have published two others in the second, expanded edition of *Speaking in Many Tongues*—one from Harvard and one from the University of Illinois. Consequently, I won't presume to tell you who *your* students are, and who *mine* are is irrelevant to you.

Starting from *Who* leads to a different *Why* or rather *Whys*. Why would *my* students want to learn another language? In *my* situation what are the community priorities which are influencing their choices? Inevitably, beginning with *Who* leads to multiple objectives. Some want to be able to communicate with people of other tongues; some want to be able to read (comics? science fiction? poetry? road signs? technical information? literature?); some want to understand films or radio; some want to be able to sing the songs of another culture. They hope to use the skills they acquire in diverse occupations. Our 1973 University of Illinois investigation unearthed the following student aspirations. They expected to use their knowledge of a language in science, anthropology, philosophy, music, journalism, business, aviation, law, inner-city medicine, linguistics, engineering, social work at home, social and religious service abroad, diplomacy, international law, interpreting, library science, advertising, speech therapy, archaeology, astrophysics, and, as one student put it, "Active service in today's action army." Recent surveys by the Modern Language Association have shown that these are in no way pipe dreams, and the MLA would add banking and international business operations.

Our answer to these expressions of interests has to be a reexamination of the *What*. Whatever our view of language, what should be the content of our courses? Clearly the twenty-five areas of interest I listed cannot demand of us twenty-five different courses!

The demands of many of these are basically similar: to be able to communicate effectively. Our students want to be able to understand and be understood, to be able to operate in another culture without offensiveness, to know and be comfortable with the basics of a language, so that they will have a firm foundation on which to build as future need requires. The very variety of their needs, however, requires us to make broad interdisciplinary contacts, as the 1978 *Northeast Conference Reports* suggest. It implies broadening our horizons to the interpenetration of language in many areas. It demands of our future teachers a much broader general culture, so that they may be intellectually prepared to seize opportunities, and create opportunities, for the integration of language with other disciplinary approaches.

Many more students are interested in what we have to offer than we allow ourselves to believe, but we must listen to their voices. They want more than bits and pieces which lead to no real knowledge or skill; they want more than a carefully crafted elementary competency. They want to be able to use what they have learned in real acts of communication, but they are not willing to accept the humiliation of being laughed at because they sound so odd.

Here I would like to speak a little about our Harvard experience over the last two or three years. First of all, a word of explanation is in order. Most students who come to Harvard do not see themselves as future/foreign-language teachers, so the number of concentrators is limited. For instance, of 550 students in French, about twenty are concentrators. Secondly, I do not view our role as essentially one of providing compensatory instruction in elementary and intermediate language, although we do this well, and those who need a requirement pass through it quickly, for the most part.

Of 370 elementary-level students in Romance languages in 1976, only 37 percent were there specifically to meet a requirement (about 136 students), and of 187 intermediate-level students, less than half were specifically requirement students (about 82 in all). Who are all the others (340 out of 550)? What is their uncoerced interest in learning another language? 76 percent of students in Romance languages at the elementary level and 57 percent at the intermediate level were studying a third or fourth language, so language learning cannot be antipathetical to them.

This isn't the situation just at Harvard. To keep to institutions I know, at the University of Illinois, a typical Midwest state institution, we found that at the advanced level only 38 percent of the students were majors. 62 percent at the advanced level were there just because they were interested in going further with the language. The Illinois situation has been confirmed at Harvard, where for our most advanced French language course, our *cours de perfectionnement,* after three days of testing to select thirty out of sixty applicants, the course instructor found that only two of the thirty accepted were declared concentrators. The others were heading for fields as diverse as those I quoted earlier.

Our enrollments in languages at Harvard, as at many other institutions, are steadily increasing, but where is the increase coming from?—not from the requirement group, which remains approximately at the same level from year to year. (About 20 percent of new students has not met the requirement before arriving on campus.) We have, however, been creating advanced and post-requirement language courses which are innovative and exciting, using literature, film, poetry, folklore, documents of contem-

porary culture, active communication, and authentic listening materials, and these courses are constantly expanding.

At the intermediate level, for fourth-semester post-requirement students, we have an 'Oral Survival' course which meets the needs of many students for confident, active use of the language for oral communication. Enrollment has increased from one to five sections in three years, and its reputation is spreading. We have special, intensive, beginning courses in French, Spanish, and Italian for students who have already been successful in another language and have strong reasons for needing or wanting to learn this additional language; these are also expanding. We have created a first semester — second semester — fourth semester — literature survey or advanced language route for our own beginners, because they learn too much to keep them marking time unnecessarily. We have paralleled the usual advanced language courses with more orally-oriented courses and have had to add new ones. Enthusiasm spreads over the grapevine.

I am sure many other institutions could tell similar stories. I am quoting our own experience here to counter the unnecessarily gloomy attitude which has been in fashion for the last few years. There is no need for languages to languish and wither. With a growing re-emphasis on the humanities, we have much to give, and we must not let our new opportunities pass us by.

> Digression: A caption in one of Winston Churchill's books reads: "How the great democracies triumphed and so were able to resume the follies which had so nearly cost them their life."

Let us move on from the *What* to the *How*. With a diversified *Who, Why,* and *What,* we must expect a diversified *How*. A great diversity of students results in multiple objectives, a multiplicity of possible content, and therefore a great variety of techniques from which to choose. I give you one caveat: once the *Who* becomes central, the affective aspect of language teaching becomes very important. The different personalities of the students, the different ways they react and express themselves, and the different ways they learn must remain in the forefront of our thinking and planning.

You may have noticed that there is a Yale Plan and a Dartmouth Model. There has even been a University of Chicago Method. But there is no Harvard Plan, Model, or Method. Perhaps that is because our chief concern is with good teaching. We emphasize individual initiative and imaginative course development. We subscribe to Palmer's point of view expressed in 1921: "We use," he said, "each and every method, process, exercise, drill, or device which may further us in our immediate purpose and bring us nearer to our ultimate goal; we adopt every good idea and leave the door open for all future developments; we reject nothing except useless and harmful forms of work. . . . [selecting] judiciously and without prejudice all that is likely to help us in our work."[2]

To return then to our original view from the tower. From our higher perspective we see that the school is there because there are children at the farm. The farm is there to feed the people in the village. The village is there because there are fish in the sea.

2 Harold E. Palmer, *The Principles of Language-Study* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 141. Original publication date 1921.

Without the sea, the others lose their purpose and relationship.

From the higher level of experience we achieve a wider perspective and perceive new interrelationships and dependencies. *We* are here because we have students. Students determine our course objectives. Our course objectives determine our content. Our techniques are selected and developed to enable us to teach that content more effectively so that we may enable our students to realize *their* objectives.

With a changing climate at the present time, I feel we, as foreign-language teachers, are about to have a new chance to show what we can contribute to the general education of all students. I shall finish, then, with a warning from James Russell Lowell (a New England voice from two centuries ago): "There is a tide in the affairs of men, but there is no gulf-stream setting forever in one direction."

ED185836

Wilga M. Rivers
Harvard University

Educational Goals: The Foreign Language Teacher's Response

Introduction

A continually changing educational environment which is responding to social pressures, political demands, and rapid changes in career opportunities, as new knowledge transforms old practices, requires each section of the educational profession to review its objectives from time to time with great care. Such a review must precede plans for future development. The ultimate aim of such a review is to bring educational practice into line with these demands in a way which is consistent with its own intrinsic aims, namely, to provide optimal opportunities for students to develop their potential as individuals and as productive citizens.

As educators, we innovate and we conserve. We pass on the best of what humanity has experienced and learned, working actively for its survival. We see the present in the special light thrown upon it by the past, while seeking to understand and prepare for the demands the future will make upon us and the graduates of our programs. Without innovation, conservation is doomed, since survival is dependent on the ability to respond to new circumstances and new imperatives.

In a modern pluralist society there are many clashing voices. These force on schools short-term pressures which are often contradictory. The profession must continually weigh the value of what it has and is, what it has learned in the past, against what society, or sections of society, would have it be. Innovation and change must build on strengths, correct weaknesses, and eliminate what is no longer useful or compatible with firm directions of change. A continual swinging to and fro, hither and yon, in order to be in the forefront of particular movements, is not only dizzying but leads to dispersed efforts, which produce unspectacular results as two or three directions are scouted at the same time. Then, when a continuing direction of change does appear, the would-be leader in innovation is often left high and dry on a sandbar.

Before we decide what our objectives in language teaching should be as the twentieth century passes through its last quarter, we need to consider carefully the major educational pressures of the moment. Of these, ten can be identified in the literature. Where does the study of another language find its place in these trends? What must be its major thrusts if one or another of these directions is selected as pre-eminent by the district, state, or nation in which the teaching is taking place, or if it is forced on the schools by a crucial social or political circumstance? By carefully considering our role in relation to each trend ahead of time, we can keep our balance under pressure. We can present a

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rationale in changing circumstances that will support our role as an essential element in the educational enterprise.

A rationale is not of itself sufficient. We must also show that we have the flexibility, the courage, and the imagination to adapt our content and approach, in order to bring what we have to offer in line with what society is demanding of us.

Trends in Educational Objectives

The short-term and long-term educational objectives which I have identified can be broadly subsumed under two educative approaches: both valid and both centering on the needs of students of diverse aptitudes, personalities, and ambitions. These two approaches will be grouped under the two questions the student needs to ask:

What can I do with it in practical domains?
What can it do for me as a person and as a citizen?

These are the basic questions of the pragmatic, utilitarian approach on the one hand and of the humanistic, individual-development, preparation-for-life approach on the other. Not surprisingly, several of the trends discussed straddle these categories. Education, in practice, cannot be boxed in in this neat, schematic fashion. The attribution to sections in these cases has had to follow the author's personal inclinations and preferences.

A. *What can I do with it in practical domains?*
   1. Accountability, competency-based education, minimal competency testing, thorough teaching of the basics.
   2. Career education.
   3. Equality of educational opportunity and mainstreaming.
   4. Lifelong learning and community education.

B. *What can it do for me as a person and as a citizen?*
   5. Self-actualization, personality development, self-enhancement, humanistic education.
   6. Interpersonal relations and communication.
   7. Multicultural education, values clarification, understanding and appreciation of one's own cultural heritage and that of others.
   8. Development of an international or global perspective.
   9. Developing the full potential of the gifted.
   10. Revived emphasis on the value of a liberal education and the role of the humanities.

WHAT CAN I DO WITH IT IN PRACTICAL DOMAINS?

Accountability, competency-based education, minimal competency testing, thorough teaching of the basics. If standardized test scores are going down and if students are leaving schools unable to read, write, or calculate sufficiently well to per-

form what is required of them in employment or in further education, the taxpayers will hold accountable those who are spending their dollars in educational institutions for not producing what taxpayers think they are paying for. Not unreasonably then, the taxpayer-parent is now demanding that schools set out clearly what their objectives are, the means by which these objectives are to be achieved, and evidence of the degree to which these objectives have been achieved. That the educational situation is more complex than this simple, direct approach would indicate or that the body of students taking standardized tests is much more heterogeneous than it was when the tests were instituted are not explanations which are going to satisfy those who wish to call the schools to account for many deteriorating situations in society. What must be the response of foreign language teachers as educators in this situation?

Before setting off blindly after the bellwethers of this trend, we should ask ourselves some penetrating questions.

(1) In an educational undertaking, what are the basic learnings a student should be able to demonstrate? At what age?

(2) How 'basic' is basic? A reductio ad absurdum would eliminate reading, writing, and arithmetic from the curriculum, as well as history, algebra, music, literature, foreign language, physical education, and the sciences. After all, students will watch television, use telephones and tapes for messages, and have easy access to sophisticated calculators.

(3) Can we be satisfied with an education which produces a *minimal* competency, or should we aim rather for an *optimal* competency: the best possible competency for each student as an individual in as many areas of personal development as a full and useful life will require?

(4) Once the 'basic' basics are assured (this is instruction), we need to think more seriously about education—educating future citizens of the local district, the state, the nation, and the world. This involves cognitive, affective, and social education. Knowledge of how languages work, ability to communicate with others beyond our immediate community and culture, and an appreciation of the viewpoints and values of these others in a pluralistic society and in an increasingly interdependent world are part of these essential learnings.

(5) How can we list all the competencies an educated citizen will need? Is it more important to be able to read the instructions on a bottle or to be able to separate the logic of an argument from the persuasive devices by which it is disguised? Is it more important to be able to check the unit prices in a supermarket or to explain to a non-English-speaking neighbor cultural differences in the public behavior of young people? Both are important, and in some situations one will be more important than the other. Checking the values in a supermarket may mean some money will be saved, while the explanations of behavior may mean the avoidance of serious misunderstanding or even violence. Both are competencies which enrich the life of the citizen.

Clearly, the foreign language teacher needs to take seriously the discontents expressed by movements such as this, while refusing to be coerced into any form of teaching, or organization of teaching, which violates the spirit of the language learning undertaking as an element in the education of future citizens. Management-by-Objectives (deciding precisely what you are aiming for and then using personnel and

resources to achieve these ends most efficiently) may be the most viable approach to the sale of gaskets and wrenches without necessarily being directly applicable to an enterprise which seeks to facilitate, to the varying degrees individual differences allow, the mental, emotional, and social growth of human beings.

The degree to which what we have to teach in a language course can be reduced to simple, objective statements that can be used as a check on achievement depends on what we think we are teaching. If we are teaching the morphology of a verb paradigm, items of vocabulary to be memorized, and the production of strange sounds, we can certainly set out objective and measurable aims: "The student shall know the endings for each person of the verb in the present tense for the regular first conjugation and shall demonstrate this knowledge by correctly assigning personal endings for a previously unknown verb of this conjugation in nine cases out of ten."

If, on the other hand, we are talking about communication, then we must revert to statements like those in the Foreign Service Institute rating scales of language proficiency.

> Elementary Proficiency
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> S-1 Short definition: Able to satisfy routine travel needs and minimum courtesy requirements.
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> Amplification: Can ask and answer questions on topics very familiar to him; within the scope of his very limited language experience can understand simple questions and statements if they are repeated at a slower rate than normal speech; speaking vocabulary inadequate to express anything but the most elementary needs; errors in pronunciation and grammar are frequent, but can be understood by a native speaker used to dealing with foreigners attempting to speak his language. . . . Should be able to order a simple meal, ask for a room in a hotel, ask and give street directions, tell time, handle travel requirements and basic courtesy requirements.

In the FSI rating scales, descriptions such as these are developed (for both speaking and reading) through five levels from elementary proficiency through limited working proficiency, minimum professional proficiency, and full professional proficiency, to native or bilingual proficiency. Assessing the attainment of these types of competencies can never be purely objective, but requires the judgment of trained and experienced instructors.

It is possible and desirable for us to analyze what we wish our students to achieve in language use for precise purposes in terms like these, if we know for what purposes the students will need to use the language. This has been the approach of the Council for Cultural Cooperation (CCC) of the Council of Europe in its analysis of the language needs of adults for forty-four specific occupations. First, the contexts in which learners will want or need to express themselves in the new language are established, and then the linguistic resources they will need to communicate in these contexts are identified and can be taught.

The CCC approach presumes the need for a *threshold level* or basic course. This threshold level specifies in detail exactly what students with minimum requirements will know and be able to do in particular situations. These *situations* are analyzed into

the *social* and *psychological roles* the speakers will need to play, the *settings* in which they will operate, and the *topics* within those settings which they will need to be able to handle. The *communicative functions* they will need to fulfill are also specified, and the semantic and syntactic features required for each are listed. Finally, the concepts or *notions* people use in oral communication have been identified, and the linguistic items needed for expressing these notions (e.g., such concepts as spatial and temporal properties and relations; size, shape, and texture) are elaborated. The *lexicon* for the threshold level has been set at 1,000 words for production and reception and another 500 words purely for recognition purposes. This 'systems approach' is the most detailed so far to appear in the foreign language field.

The 1978 New York State curriculum guide, *Modern Languages for Everyone,* also recommends a basic course which will fulfill a diagnostic function as well as providing a 'ground-floor' level. The objectives of this basic course are stated in terms of exposure rather than performance (p. 17), since it provides the students with the opportunity to develop fundamental language skills while identifying their individual strengths, interests, and needs in language learning. This basic course is to be followed by a series of options which capitalize on students' strengths and interests: a four-skill sequence, a listening-speaking sequence, a reading sequence, a reading-writing sequence, and special-interest courses. These options form a framework for lifelong learning and a basis for further course options at the advanced level. The instructional objectives for courses beyond the basic course will be expressed in terms of students' performance. Individual language sections of the guide will set out the objectives for each of the four communication skills, "arranged according to learning taxonomies, beginning in each case with the simplest tasks and leading in a succession of steps to the more complex" (p. 17). Projects such as these are fundamental if foreign language study is to be considered a full partner in the development of career education.

> *Students should learn 'basics' of language and 'tools' for further study (Idaho, high school, French, German).*[1]
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> *Le but de l'étudiant en lange étrangère doit être d'acquérir une base à partir de laquelle il pourra élargir ses connaissances suivant ses besoins* (France, C.E.S., English).

Career Education. Properly understood, career education is not vocational education: it provides opportunities for students to investigate possible careers with their demands and satisfactions, and what successful pursuit of a particular career will require in the way of further education and additional skills. That knowledge of a foreign language is a useful adjunct in the preparation for many different careers is becoming more and more evident. Huebener, writing in the *Language Association Bulletin* (October 1978) of the New York State Association of Foreign Language Teachers, found that 2,317 jobs requiring competence in a foreign language were advertised in the Sunday edition of *The New York Times* for the first six months of that year. In order of frequency, the languages required were Spanish, French, German, and Italian, but Portuguese, Russian, Japanese, and Arabic were also cited. In the last few years, articles

[1]Quotations in italics are from questionnaires described later in this Report.

have appeared frequently in professional journals giving information on careers in the business world; in law, medicine, and social work; in banking and finance; in journalism; or in international agencies. (See particularly the *Bulletin* of the Association of Departments of Foreign Languages.)

Teachers in schools should gather such information and use it to inform not only career and guidance counselors, but the administration, parents, district officials, and *their own students*. If our area of study is neglected because of lack of information about its potential usefulness, the fault lies with ourselves for lack of persistent effort in dissemination of available information. We must not delude our students, or ourselves, however, into believing that knowledge of a foreign language alone will open doors to exciting careers. We must work out programs within the schools which provide opportunities for students interested in these careers to continue study of particular foreign languages which will be useful to them in those fields. We must also encourage those gifted in languages to seek out career areas where they can combine their first love with more clearly vocational preparation.

Foreign language teachers should work with career counselors, not only by providing information about the wider opportunities in many fields for those with competence in another language, but by suggesting possible work experiences where the language can be used. Students in work-study programs may be encouraged to help with social work in areas where there are concentrations of persons who speak the language they are learning, or act as interpreters in hospitals, tax information centers, or welfare agencies. They may help local businesses with international correspondence or translate brochures and instruction sheets. They can help the local library catalogue foreign language books. Students interested in teaching can help with foreign language instruction in elementary schools or give introductory lessons to groups of students in after-school clubs. They can also help children who speak other languages who are having problems with instruction in English.

Participation in career education endeavors must be accompanied by a close look at the orientation and content of the language courses. Do they provide the type of language experiences these career-oriented students need? An investigation of students' needs and interests of the type proposed in the section on Research for Development will give direction to the rethinking of the curriculum.

Many career-oriented courses have been described in our professional journals during the last few years: courses for inner-city firemen and policemen, business majors, secretaries, social workers, and health science workers among others. Special courses for those needing to be able to read in a special field have been available in colleges and universities for a long time. The direct thrust toward the goal in these courses can, of course, be strengthened.

Language courses for special purposes should normally come after the basic course at the high-school level. For adults already engaged in a specific occupation, a course more directly oriented to their needs may often be appropriate. These adults will be able to help the teacher design the type of course and course content they need and then use the material learned immediately in their next day's activities. The course will be as long or as intensive as the particular needs of the working group require. An analysis of the actual degree to which the students will need to understand, speak, read, or write in their occupation will be revelatory, and a study of actual situations will reveal the

type of vocabulary and structures day-to-day operations demand. (See CCC, "Systems Development in Adult Language Learning" in the Bibliography.)

> *The most important goals . . . are (1) to find well-paid jobs, (2) to secure promotions, (3) to lead a highly materialistic life* (Hong Kong, technical education, English).
>
> *To develop the ability to converse with others; to translate current documents into English; and to prepare oneself for an exciting, rewarding career using foreign language as a tool* (Texas, college, Russian).

Equality of educational opportunity and mainstreaming. If students of different cultures, socioeconomic backgrounds, aptitudes, abilities, disabilities, preferred modalities of learning, and career aspirations are to have equal access to a full and rounded educational experience, foreign language study must be available and accessible to all.

No longer can foreign language teachers limit their efforts to preparing an elite group of students for college entrance or advanced placement. This fact has been brought home to teachers rather forcefully in recent years when many colleges have dropped foreign language requirements—a move which has forced many teachers to reexamine their course objectives and their teaching style. Languages can be taught to all kinds of students. Courses can be created to suit a variety of temperaments, interests, and learning preferences. There is no one way to approach a language, and there is a multiplicity of activities and of possible course contents from which to draw to help different students reach a variety of levels and objectives.

This educational trend demands flexibility, imagination, and courage to innovate from teachers in all subject areas. The foreign language teacher cannot claim special exemption. Once again, professional journals, reports, and association bulletins are full of imaginative suggestions for course development from innovative teachers, and these should be studied.

Foreign language teachers can also learn to teach students with all kinds of learning disabilities and physical limitations. Language learning should be open to them as well. Their motivation to share a full education with others can be channeled by the teacher into many successful learning experiences. For the visually impaired, courses can be primarily aural-oral; for those with severe hearing deficits, the emphasis may be on the visual-graphic. The content of language courses can be reduced or expanded; language can be learned through active oral use in concrete situations by students who find abstract manipulations a problem. Few other subjects in the school curriculum are as adaptable to all types of learners.

Where the need in the school is for bilingual programs or special instruction in English as a second language, the foreign language teacher should be the first to offer support and help in identifying the appropriate objectives of the program in the specific situation, in helping design courses to suit the needs of the types of students involved, and in disseminating information and building support for the program in the school and in the wider community.

Language teachers should encourage language students to mingle as friends with these bilingual and ESL special-need groups and to help them feel part of the social and intellectual life of the school. Where possible, teachers should involve these groups in joint activities with the foreign language students, using them as aides and resource

persons where their native language is one of the languages the students are studying. In this way, their self-esteem and pride in their ethnic origin will be built up, and the language students will be able to learn at first hand about their culture and traditions.

Where magnet schools are proposed, foreign language teachers' associations should work actively to convince the decision-makers that at least one such school should provide special language learning opportunities for those with particular aptitude and motivation for learning several languages. They should prepare the necessary information on the particular values and usefulness of such a concentration of opportunities, with concrete proposals for its implementation.

> *Our goals are . . . survival skills for a new culture and then the literacy skills which will enable them to function near grade level with their peers as quickly as possible* (New York State, English-Spanish bilingual education).

Lifelong learning and community education. Students who have begun a language at school frequently desire to make their knowledge active at some later stage in life, especially if their initial experience was a pleasurable one. Others wish to experience foreign language learning for the first time or to learn a second or third language. Still others find that their developing careers or a move to a new location require them to use a different language. Some businesses send their employees to community education programs to learn a language needed for the expansion of their operations. Parents may wish to learn a language their children are studying or one spoken by their neighbors. More and more descendants of non-English-speaking immigrants are becoming curious about the language and culture of their grandparents, and yet others wish to be able to communicate with their non-English-speaking in-laws. As a result, enrollments in language classes for adults have been steadily rising.

Foreign language teachers should encourage their communities to include languages in all educational programs for adults and should be willing to cooperate in developing courses appropriate to the specific needs of local adult students. The high motivation and determination of adult students make them a great pleasure to teach and can imbue weary high school teachers with a new enthusiasm and respect for the subject they teach. Just transferring the textbook and the course content from the elementary-level high-school class, however, is not enough and may well kill the program in its early stages.

Teachers in all non-traditional learning programs (adult education, inservice, retraining, and career development programs, courses for leisure-time interests and retirement, and other forms of continuing education) need to be flexible and democratic in developing the type of course the student needs. This frequently involves adaptation of materials or development of new types of materials. Adult students should be fully involved in decisions on what and how they will learn. If their previous school experience has not made them autonomous, self-directed learners, they should be learning how to learn without assistance, except when they request it. The use of small groups or pairs who prepare and present material to the class and who use the language for purposeful interaction should be encouraged. Communication-oriented language classes are particularly appropriate for this type of activity.

In all community language-learning endeavors (as within the school, moreover), language teachers should avoid the defensive promotion of a particular language which

they have been trained to teach and realize that all successful language learning in the community has beneficial effects for language programs in schools and colleges by developing favorable attitudes toward language learning in general among those who ultimately pay for the cost of education.

> *These skills [speaking fluently and reading with pleasure], if preserved through use, will be an intellectual and personal asset throughout a lifetime, no matter what career a student pursues* (Massachusetts, college, Spanish).

WHAT CAN IT DO FOR ME AS A PERSON AND AS A CITIZEN?

Self-actualization, personality development, self-enhancement, humanistic education. Here we come to a trend which has provided a groundswell in American education for many years. Coming to the fore during the era of progressive education under the leadership of John Dewey, it continued its struggle for the recognition of the primacy of the individual personality against behavioristic emphases in the individualization movement: personal learning style and strategies versus narrowly conceived behavioral or performance objectives. The growing emphasis on awareness of individual identity and on personal choice and the renewed interest in humanistic psychology have brought this aspect of education once again into prominence.

In an affective or humanistic approach, students are encouraged to talk about themselves, to be open with others, and to express their feelings. Humanistic techniques help both teacher and student to drop their masks, to be themselves, and to accept and esteem both themselves and others. Foreign language classes are clearly places where such techniques are needed and have a rightful place. The anxiety and tension and the face-saving silence which can and do predominate in many classrooms are hindrances to learning to use a language. Genuine communication, which is the major goal of language learning whether through the oral or graphic medium, is impossible where teacher and students are not at ease with each other, and student is wary of fellow student.

Students can learn about themselves and others and can experience sharing with less risk in the foreign language class because much of the activity can be role-playing and simulation. The students can express themselves from behind a mask, a puppet, or an assumed identity until they achieve the confidence to accept and reveal themselves to each other. This kind of rock-bottom interaction can only take place when the teacher also is willing to be an equal partner rather than a director.

Content is not neglected in a class which uses humanistic techniques, because everything one is learning about the structure of a language, lexical choice to express specific meanings, levels of language for different situations, and the phonology of language is immediately useful in active interaction.

The expressive arts are also an integral part of a foreign language class which aims at personality development. Language has been learned very successfully through the cooperative activity of producing a play, and through the incorporation of music and song as stimulants to the free flow of imagination and self-expression. Dance, along with music and song, helps the student to penetrate to the 'soul' of another culture. These elements draw out many students whose richest gifts lie in domains other than the cognitive.

This type of approach underscores the essential difference of the foreign language class in that it can provide a new beginning for students defeated by years of cumulative failure in other areas of study. With a new beginning and the development of a new self-confidence, such students can find some area of a diversified language program which meets their needs. If learning another language is viewed as part of the general educative thrust of the school, and not merely as absorption of content, then varying levels of achievement become less important than what a successful language learning experience has contributed to a particular student's development into a balanced and stable person. One knows or one does not know the atomic weight of a particular element. In another language, one can express oneself with varying degrees of flexibility and accuracy and yet be understood and accepted.

> *To become free in their expression, so as to be able to talk and write about things they love. To become able to pursue their personal curiosities, reading any written material of their taste in the language being learned* (Italy/Massachusetts, college, Italian).

Interpersonal relations and communication. If our students are to live a happy, productive, and satisfying life, they have to learn to live with others harmoniously and cooperatively. For this they must understand the processes of communication: physical, cognitive, and affective.

Students need to study different ways of thinking, communicating, and acting in relation to and in relationships with others. They need to know how a message is expressed and understood; how language and thought are intertwined; how to express their meaning clearly, unambiguously, and without offensiveness; and how to listen to what others are really trying to communicate. They need to understand how language is used in relation to the structure of society and its patterns of inner and outer relationships if they are to avoid clashes, misunderstandings, and hurt. They need to learn about non-verbal communication: the ways we express our real meaning in harmony with or even in contradiction to the words we use. They need to understand the contributions to meaning of gross body movements and facial expressions, but also the implications of slight movements of the eyebrow, head, hand, shoulders. They need to understand cultural differences in the distance we keep between ourselves and others; the ways we touch and avoid; the degree of eye contact we maintain; the effects of loudness of voice and emphasis, and the uses of silence; as well as the subtle ways in which we impose our authority or convey disbelief, condescension, or support.

The processes of communication in our own language and culture become much clearer to us when we try to communicate in another language. We discover what a sentence really is when we find its form may be very different. We learn how words can indicate very slight differences in meaning as well as the more obvious ones; how meanings are augmented or diminished by parts of words; how context, intonation, and stress modify and extend meaning. We begin to understand how we have been using language to assert our group membership and keep others 'in their place.' These things become much clearer to us when we must first analyze what we really want to say before we can decide how to say it to create the effect we desire. So much of the use of our native language is second nature to us that we are unaware of how we are using it until we study how another linguistic group uses theirs.

Similarly, the non-verbal aspects of communication become strikingly obvious to us

when we see films, or even pictures, of people communicating in another language and relating to each other in another culture. Discussion of these observed differences can make us more sensitive to equivalent aspects of behavior in our own environment.

Communication-oriented classes are fashionable. To be truly educational, they must teach more than the ability to use the forms of another language to say what one could better convey in one's native idiom or, worse still, to express banalities which are a waste of breath in any language. For foreign language learning to become a full partner in the educational enterprise, we must seize the opportunities our field provides to teach *about* communication as well as indulge in it.

> *Courses should be so designed that even the short-term learner grasps something about languages, and language, as interesting phenomena, interrelated and evolving, revealing both consistencies and inconsistencies, and reflecting different ways of living and thinking, so that he ceases to take language for granted, and tries to handle it with accuracy, pleasure, and respect* (New Zealand, college, French).

Multicultural education, values clarification, understanding and appreciation of one's own cultural heritage and that of others. The emphasis of multicultural education is on the acceptance and appreciation of the cultural pluralism of our society. It opens eyes, minds, and hearts to different life styles, speech habits, traditions, and ways of interacting and enjoying life.

Multicultural education does not mean just learning about other cultural groups through listening to lectures and reading prepared materials. It means going into other cultural communities, sharing what they offer of their way of living, their pleasures and their griefs, and helping the community through friendship, support, and genuine caring for their contributions to community life. Foreign language study with teachers who are themselves accepting of difference and who understand and care for cultural diversity can help students to overcome the fears and antipathies of their upbringing by providing explanations for the strange, the different, and the vaguely mysterious. If the language learned is that of a community in the neighborhood or nearby, it can act as a key to closer acquaintance and understanding as students are encouraged to participate in activities of the community, make friends within the community, and help the community in its relations with the dominant language sector.

Of itself, foreign language study does not necessarily lead to appreciation of the values and viewpoints of those of another culture. The cultural values of our students have not been consciously acquired, and confrontation with other values can be a shocking experience: the new ways and viewpoints may seem 'wrong,' or 'bad,' or 'rude.' This emotional revulsion to difference may be intensified by teaching materials which present stereotypes and caricatures of persons from the other culture, thus perpetuating the bias and prejudices of the students. Presenting only aspects of the other culture that are picturesque, quaint, or exotic can lead to a patronizing acceptance of these others as a lesser breed—harmless but in need of modernization and uplift to the level of the dominant culture. On the other hand, an uncritical presentation of the other culture as all that is admirable and inspiring can raise hostilities from students who feel their own culture is being denigrated.

Many of these problems can be overcome if the discussion of cultural differences is a two-way street. Teachers bring materials, students bring materials; both teachers and

students raise questions; members of the other culture are involved in the discussions wherever feasible. Both the culture of the student and the target culture are investigated, examined, and analyzed. The students identify and discuss their own values as they consider those of others. The experience becomes one of self-discovery as well as penetration of the values and viewpoints of others. A new dimension is added to our students' thinking as they find there are other ways of looking at things and other ways of expressing, cherishing, or rejecting them.

The sensitizing experience of bringing students to an appreciation and understanding of another culture creates for the foreign language teacher another task within the school: that of sharing this broader viewpoint with the teachers of other subjects. The foreign language class should not foster only an appreciation of one other culture, but should awaken students to the great diversity and richness of the cultural heritage of a community. Other teachers of different ethnic backgrounds can be brought into the discussions, so that acceptance of multiculturalism, not just biculturalism, is encouraged.

Where cultural diversity within the community has led to the establishment of bilingual programs, these should not become little ghettos within the educational community. They should be, rather, living communities within which members of the dominant linguistic group can interact with those of other cultural backgrounds and learn from them the many things their cultural heritage has to offer. At the same time, they will be introducing the bilingual students to aspects of the dominant culture with which they must learn to interact.

> *To facilitate interaction and cooperation among diverse ethnic and linguistic groups, both intraculturally and cross-culturally by learning to speak to each other and learning how misunderstandings occur, including value differences, verbal misunderstandings, and non-verbal misunderstandings* (Australia/California, all levels, foreign language and ESL).

Development of an international or global perspective. In the previous section, we discussed diversity of cultures in a pluralistic society. In this section, we move beyond the nation to the growing interdependence of a much more diverse world. The interdependence of nations and peoples is accelerating, in a way we could never have foreseen, through the active demands of young nations, many of which did not exist as entities a decade ago. Americans will have to become aware of conditions, institutions, ideologies, historical circumstances, and different ways of thinking, communicating, and operating if any meeting of the minds is to become a reality. We can not expect all overtures and efforts to come from the other side. Third and Fourth World countries have much to do to reach even a minimally acceptable level of development without having to carry as well the total burden of international communication and understanding.

Learning about other peoples, other places, other institutions; learning another language for communication, so that we may hear representatives of other nations explain their viewpoint or read what they have to say to us and to each other; understanding their problems and the way these same problems affect us, these are essential elements for American education today. We must reduce the bondage of young Americans to the familiar and the local. Foreign language teachers should cooperate with teachers of the social studies and other subject areas in developing in their students

that flexibility, resulting from informed understanding, which will be needed for an open-minded and culture-detached collaboration with other nations in the solution of problems of planetary concern. This awareness of global interdependence and the responsibilities it entails does not necessarily result from learning another language. The foreign language program will need to be redesigned or reoriented to make this global perspective an acknowledged and achievable objective of the language study, as a segment of the overall school or district planning in this area. Furthermore, the teachers involved must be willing to broaden their own knowledge and accept retraining, where necessary, in order to make such a program effective.

Languages have moved beyond their countries of origin. English belongs as much to Alaska, Jamaica, or India as it does to the inhabitants of a small section of the British Isles. French serves as much for communication to a Haitian, a citizen of Montreal, or a Tahitian as it does to a Parisian. Spanish and Portuguese have for centuries been spoken by many more people out of their countries of origin than in them. Foreign language teachers must demonstrate much more awareness of these languages as vehicles for widespread international communication by broadening their own knowledge of areas where leading world languages are spoken and including the study of these peoples and their cultures in the materials from which their students learn. Foreign language teachers must travel and encourage their students to travel. Even short periods of living in close contact with members of another linguistic and cultural group can change attitudes and develop more understanding than the reading of many books. Exchange programs where students from different nations live in each other's homes and share family life should be expanded and multiplied. Foreign students should be welcomed into American homes and schools so that there may be a sharing of information and viewpoints and a demonstrated caring for each other as friends.

Magazines, newspapers, films, records, shortwave radio programs, correspondence by letter and tape—every means should be employed to see that today's students know and care about their neighbors in today's world. International days, fiestas, and national holidays of exchange students in the school make the concerns and ways of life of other nationals exciting, interesting, and attractive. Such activities should not be merely frills, however, but should provide opportunities to inform and to sensitize participating students and members of the community to the global diversity of ways of thinking, lifestyles, and concerns. Foreign language teachers can do much, along with their colleagues in other disciplines, to combat parochial, chauvinistic, and ethnocentric attitudes among their students.

> *To create a feeling of belonging to a shrinking world* (Sweden, elementary and high schools, English).

Developing the full potential of the gifted. First of all, a distinction should be made between 'good' students who work and do as they are told and the gifted. Gifted students will be superior achievers academically in most cases, but some may resist routine instruction, dodge homework, goof off, and refuse to conform to rules, regulations, and requirements. Tests of various types may help the teacher to identify superior ability in the latter cases, but, even without such help, the sensitive teacher should be able to detect their superior ability and seek ways to involve and challenge them with activities requiring originality, intellectual application, and leadership.

Gifted students are notable for their ability to evaluate facts critically, to distinguish new relationships, and to reason through complex problems. They usually demonstrate a high level of verbal and communicative skill. They are frequently, but not always, creative and original in their thinking. They may become bored with the laborious progression in thinking and learning their classmates require. The truly creative will take imaginative leaps and play around with ideas, but may be reluctant to perform purely routine operations for the sake of such extrinsic rewards as top grades.

If attempts are to be made to meet the specific needs of the gifted, care must be taken to identify all those with special gifts and talents without distinction of race, sex, ethnic origin, or socioeconomic background. A different home language may obscure the gifts of some students. Above all, the 'head start' gained by those privileged to grow up in an intellectually rich environment must not be confused with genuine intellectual and creative giftedness.

Once the gifted have been identified, the choice of program to advance them at their own pace has usually been between acceleration and enrichment. (Only in a limited number of schools are fully developed programs for the gifted available throughout their school career.) Accelerated studies, where students undertake advanced work beyond that of the majority of their age group, should be challenging and intellectually stimulating, rather than mere 'credit-grabbing' busy work. The gifted are not well-served by economizing on a year or two of schooling if this means remaining within narrow confines of study.

Enriched or advanced study should provide gifted students with full opportunity to explore new fields, develop their creative potential, and learn to be autonomous in their search for new knowledge; they should have 'freedom to learn.' Fortunately, such instructional innovations as individualization of instruction and independent research projects can provide gifted students with opportunities to range as wide and far as their imagination and intellectual drive will permit. They should, however, have regular opportunities to report back to their classmates on things they have found out, so that they will not begin to feel isolated and ignored.

How should foreign language teachers face the gifted student? First, they must realize that gifted students will grasp concepts rapidly and will not enjoy the large amounts of practice that some other students require. The foreign language teacher must individualize much of the practice work, either through the use of the laboratory for as long or as short a time as the student needs, or through provision of achievement tests which allow students to move beyond specific units at their own pace. The gifted will often profit more from time spent in the library researching a topic to present to the class than in listening unwillingly to another exposition of a particular aspect of grammar that other students may still need. If they show the patience for it, they may be used as group leaders and as auxiliary aides in helping weaker students to learn.

By its nature, a language is something which we are continually learning, and the gifted should be encouraged to move ahead of others in comprehension and production through the provision of more advanced and challenging materials in areas of interest to them, both aural-oral and graphic. They can range widely in their reading and yet be kept in touch with their fellows by proposing interesting articles or stories that might be read by the rest of the class, or by giving information on aspects of contemporary culture or current affairs that have caught their attention.

Certainly, the foreign language teacher should be alert to detect those with a particular gift for languages. These students should be encouraged to learn second and third foreign languages, including at least one of the less commonly taught languages. Where facilities in the school limit the choice of language, programmed self-teaching materials should be supplied or the resources of a nearby college or extension course may be tapped.

Teachers should not be disconcerted by students who may be more gifted in certain areas than they are themselves. Truly gifted, non-problem students will enjoy seeking out knowledge and learning what interests them without the tedious trammels of close supervision.

> *If all students are to be encouraged to study a foreign language, methodology and goals must be adapted to individual needs* (Maryland, elementary and high school, all languages).

Revived emphasis on the value of a liberal education and the role of the humanities. There has been much soul-searching among all segments of the population concerned with education, as the nine trends already discussed clearly indicate. The claims of the marketplace must be carefully balanced with the need to educate the whole person. Students who receive a narrowly vocational preparation may well find their skills outdated quite soon after they begin to use them in working situations.

The way our society and our world, interrelated as they are, will evolve even in the immediate future is hard to tell. What we do know is that there will be men and that there will be women and it will be for them to take the future—their present—boldly in their hands and to live with what they can make of it. Basically, human nature and human capabilities change little or, at least, change slowly (although we can make more of the latter, as earlier sections have shown). It is people we must be concerned with, so that we can help them develop their inner resources for whatever future they may encounter.

So now, more than ever, we need to educate, rather than instruct. It has become imperative for our young people to develop that flexibility of mind that will enable them to adapt to new circumstances and recognize new opportunities. They need to learn how to learn and to be trained in various ways of approaching bodies of knowledge. They must learn how to assess facts, how to evaluate new knowledge, and how to put knowledge to use. Their education must encourage creative, heuristic thinking, boldness in application, and ability to function autonomously. They must have experience in cooperative planning and implementation of purposeful activity.

It seems apparent that, for many years to come, Americans will have to live with uncertainty, variability, and ambiguity in practical and ethical domains. What decisions to make, what actions to take, how to react and behave will not be simple and obvious as the many elements of a diverse population enter the mainstream and as encounters with persons of other countries and cultures increase. Our students will need to have confidence in and a clear understanding of the values and beliefs they themselves cherish in order to face this variability with equanimity and tolerance.

What contributions can humane studies make to this type of education? Our students need a sense of history and of the diversity of mankind in the broadest sense of the ways of life, attitudes of mind, cherished institutions, environmental experiences, and slow but

steady development of direction of many peoples in varied times and places: what they have written, what they have sung, what they have created—not just the wars they have fought and the leaders they have overthrown. They need to examine and discuss values, beliefs, and prejudices. They can share what has moved others emotionally, what has driven them to action and sacrifice, even to despair and decline, and what has drawn them close in cultural groups. A continually in-looking content which studies and discusses only the students' own culture and history fails to reveal to these students the full riches of their own heritage or even of their contemporary culture. Because they have no basis for comparison, they miss the essential character of their own experience. It is because there is light, that we know there is the dark and various degrees of twilight. Another culture, another literature, another history, seen through the prism of another language, can make these distinctions more clear and obvious.

Our students need literature, poetry, music, and other artistic manifestations, not only of a literate elite, but also of the common people in oral traditions, folklore, the arts of the people, the history and stories which make small pockets of cultural identity unique. Through this content they can share the culture and the concerns of many times and many peoples, far away and close at home. The preoccupations change and interweave, but societies and groups have had to face basically the same issues.

As they study the thoughts and actions of others, our students should be encouraged to reexamine critically and boldly what they themselves believe and hold dear and relate this to the heritage of values and concerns of their own nation and people, distinguishing the good from the decadent and the tawdry. The educated person can see and understand the visions of others while retaining a stable grasp on what he or she believes to be the true, the essential, and the beautiful. A truly educated person is open to new ideas, open to trying the untried, yet not swept away by intermittent waves of fads and superficial enthusiasms, because there is an anchor of conviction which results from an understanding of beliefs one has made one's own.

Our students should be given the opportunity to develop broad interests and creative talents which will continue to give them personal satisfaction whatever turns their life may take. It is this beginning in personal development, self-confidence, and personal satisfaction which will give future citizens strength in combating an atmosphere of anonymity, dispensability, and powerlessness.

The foreign language teacher is essentially a humanist and must believe in the contribution humane studies can make to the education of mind and spirit. None of these benefits will accrue automatically unless the planning and implementation of the language course is clearly directed toward the full involvement of the students in reliving and rethinking the content. A liberal, humane education is a never-ending process in which the teacher learns with and from students and kindles in them enthusiasms which will last far beyond the period of formal education. The real product of the endeavor is rarely seen by the instructor, but we can judge its impact by our own memories of those who influenced us most profoundly.

> *My first thrust would be to situate its value on the broadest possible level, as a basic structural part of a liberal education, not rationalized by concrete practical applications* (North Carolina, college, French).

Focused Approaches and Sets of Objectives

With so many different pressures requiring the teacher to respond by emphasizing so many possible aspects of foreign language learning, teachers may well feel bewildered. Should they emphasize communication, or cultural understanding, or language as a human activity? Should they be giving more time to opening students' eyes to the global implications of contacts with other peoples, or helping them learn to live with their neighbors (and themselves)? Or should they, as some suggest, just teach the four skills and leave it at that? What about the students' own interests and felt needs? Where do they come in?

Clearly, the teacher must select an approach which balances students' interests and the pressure of taxpayers and parents, while exercising a professional responsibility to design and implement a course which brings to both groups the best that the subject area has to offer in the general educational setting in which the teaching/learning is taking place. This requires thoughtful consideration of possibilities and the realities of their implementation.

In planning this Report, I decided to draw on the collective wisdom of a worldwide profession, exercising its responsibilities in widely varying circumstances, to clarify the relationship of foreign language objectives to geographical, social, and political situations. To this end, I sent questionnaires to language teachers in many countries on widely separated continents and to all fifty states, asking which of twenty-one objectives frequently mentioned in the literature on foreign or second language teaching constituted the most important goals for language learners in their particular teaching situation. Respondents ranked seven of the items proposed, added extra items they did not find on the list, and wrote short statements, some of which have been quoted in various parts of this Report. Approximately 500 questionnaires were sent out and 580 were returned, because a number of recipients passed the questionnaire on to colleagues or tried it out on teachers and teacher-trainees in summer institutes or orientation programs. Teachers from forty-eight countries[2] and fifty states are represented in the sample. They teach twenty-one languages at all levels, from elementary school through graduate school and continuing education; some teach immigrants and minority-language students.

Before analyzing the data, I attempted to predict from the questionnaire seven focused approaches to language teaching which would be indicated by clustering choices of objectives. Such clusters were found in the data when certain key items as first choices were used as discriminators, but the clusters were not identical to those predicted.

For discussion purposes, I set out below my own cluster predictions in the left-hand column of the listings below, and the realities which emerged from the responses to the

[2]Countries responding were Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Cuba, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Guatemala, Hong Kong, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Mexico, Morocco, New Zealand, Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Taiwan, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, USSR, Venezuela, West Germany, Yugoslavia.

questionnaire in the right-hand column. The numbers do not represent rankings, but refer to the numbering of the items in the questionnaire in Appendix A. Beneath each approach, I list the areas and countries for which the responses fell into the cluster indicated. (These listings represent averages of responses for that area and language as it appeared in my data, not the approach of any individual school.) I leave it to the reader to reflect on the relationship between the needs of particular areas or countries listed and the categories into which the responses fall. (The listings are not intended to be all-inclusive, but provocative of discussion.)

PREDICTIONS	**REALITIES**
I. CAREER ORIENTATION (Key discriminating item: 3)	
1. oral communication	1. oral communication
2. values and viewpoints	2. values and viewpoints
3. career tool	3. career tool
5. read technical literature	4. personal culture (literature)
9. for travel	5. read technical literature
14. [bilingual-bicultural] (where appropriate)	6. how language works
17. other places and times	13. another mode of learning
20. community structure	

The most important goal for learners is to get what they paid for. . . . *They have a right to expect some useable competency in the language from the program they participate in* (Wisconsin, college, 85 languages).

This orientation was reported by the following (U = University; H.S. = high school; no designation = both): *EFL* in Western Europe: Germany, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Belgium; India, Hong Kong, Thailand (omitting oral communication); Peru, Brazil, Chile; Eastern Europe: Rumania, Poland, Yugoslavia, USSR; Portugal (omitting oral communication). *ESL* in California, Midwest, Texas, Deep South; in Canada: Quebec, Ontario; in Australia, New Zealand. *French* in Southeast, Mid-Atlantic, Texas; Brazil. *French SL* in Canada: Quebec, Ontario. *German* in Sweden. *Oriental languages* in Northeast (with cultural understanding). *Portuguese* in Mid-Atlantic States (ethnic emphasis). *Russian* in California. *Spanish* in California, Midwest, Texas.

II. CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING (Key discriminating item: 2)	
1. oral communication	1. oral communication
2. values and viewpoints	2. values and viewpoints
9. for travel	3. career tool
10. understand ethnic origin	4. personal culture (literature)
12. combat chauvinism	6. how language works
17. other places and times	7. intellectual development
18. different world perspective	12. combat chauvinism
20. community structure	13. another mode of learning
21. how meanings expressed	18. different world perspective

The development of attitudes favorable to an harmonious and rewarding life in a multicultural society and world (Australia, all levels, European and Asian languages).

EFL in Japan, Korea; Sweden H.S. *French* in California U, Idaho H.S., Mid-Atlantic U, Midwest U, Pacific Northwest, Southeast H.S.; Canada U; Australia, New Zealand; Germany U; Sweden H.S. *German* in Idaho, Mid-Atlantic U, Midwest U, Pacific Northwest, Southeast;

Ontario U; Denmark U; Rumania U. *Spanish* in Deep South H.S., Midwest U, Northeast U, Southeast H.S.; Ontario.

III. INTERNATIONAL MINDEDNESS (Key discriminating item: 15)

1. oral communication	1. oral communication
2. values and viewpoints	2. values and viewpoints
9. for travel	3. career tool
11. meet other nations halfway	4. personal culture (literature)
12. combat chauvinism	5. reading technical literature
15. international community	7. intellectual development
17. other places and times	9. for travel
18. different world perspective	12. combat chauvinism
19. experience of another group	13. another mode of learning
20. community structure	15. international community
21. how meanings expressed	

To open new doors through which the student can see and appreciate a vast and complicated world full of valid but differing attitudes, desires, and goals (Illinois, junior college, French).

Chinese in California U. *EFL* in Sweden H.S.; Italy H.S.; France, Switzerland. *ESL* in Idaho, Mid-Atlantic; United Kingdom. *French* in Southeast U. *German* in Idaho U, Northeast U; Rumania U; Australia, New Zealand H.S. *Italian* and *Portuguese* in Northeast (ethnic emphasis). *Japanese* in Australia. *Spanish* in Mid-Atlantic H.S., Southeast H.S.

IV. SELF-ENHANCEMENT AND EXPRESSION (Key discriminating item: 8)

1. [expressive] oral communication	1. oral communication
2. values and viewpoints	2. values and viewpoints
4. personal culture (literature)	3. career tool
8. express one's feelings	8. express one's feelings
10. understand ethnic origin	13. another mode of learning
16. for enjoyment	16. for enjoyment
19. experience of another group	19. experience of another group
	21. how meanings expressed

Dare to use a foreign language you have learnt (Sweden, high school and college, English).

With *communication* as top priority: *ESL* in Ontario; Australia, New Zealand. *French* in United Kingdom. *German* in Midwest H.S., California U; Holland and Belgium; United Kingdom.

V. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS/COMMUNICATION
(Key discriminating items: 1, 19)

1. oral communication	1. oral communication
2. values and viewpoints	2. values and viewpoints
8. express one's feelings	3. career tool
9. for travel	6. how language works
11. meet other nations halfway	12. combat chauvinism
14. [bilingual-bicultural]	13. another mode of learning
19. experience of another group	19. experience of another group
21. how meanings expressed	

To develop a sense of caring and responsibility for others. . . . From this perspective . . everything else falls into place (Ontario, short intensive courses, English).

ESL in Mid-Atlantic; Ontario. *French* in Deep South H.S., Mid-Atlantic; Ontario U. *Spanish* in California U, Idaho H.S., Mid-Atlantic U.

VI. LINGUISTIC APPROACH (Key discriminating key: 6)

1. oral communication	1. oral communication
2. values and viewpoints	2. values and viewpoints
6. how language works	3. career tool
7. develop intellectually	4. personal culture (literature)
13. another mode of learning	6. how language works
18. different world perspective	7. develop intellectually
21. how meanings expressed	13. another mode of learning
	18. different world perspective
	19. experience of another group

To encounter language as an abstract object of study, as well as languages as a medium of human communication (Pennsylvania, college, Spanish).

EFL in Italy. *ESL* in Pacific Northwest. *French* in Deep South, Midwest H.S. *German* in Mid-Atlantic U, Deep South U; Ontario U. *Russian* in California U. *Spanish* in Pacific Northwest H.S.

VII. AS PART OF LIBERAL EDUCATION
(Key discriminating item: three of 2, 4, 7, 17)

1. oral communication	1. oral communication
2. values and viewpoints	2. values and viewpoints
4. personal culture (literature)	3. career tool
6. how language works	4. personal culture (literature)
7. develop intellectually	6. how language works
10. understand ethnic origin	7. develop intellectually
12. combat chauvinism	12. combat chauvinism
13. another mode of learning	13. another mode of learning
16. for enjoyment	17. other places and times
17. other places and times	18. different world perspective
18. different world perspective	
21. how meanings expressed	

To form a harmony between academic learning and professional training . . . as contributing to the goals of a liberal education (Thailand, college, English).

French in Northeast. *Hebrew* in Manitoba. *Latin and Greek* in Mid-Atlantic. *Russian* in Mid-Atlantic. *Spanish* in Idaho H.S.

The realities, as opposed to the predictions, showed that most teachers, no matter what their approach, had realized that language learning needed to be related in some way to the career plans of their students. They also felt the need in the contemporary world for oral communication and for understanding the values and viewpoints of the speakers of other languages. They recognized the importance of understanding how language works. That they viewed their work as part of a general educational enterprise is shown by the high ranking as objectives of intellectual development, broadening the educational experience of the students by introducing them to another mode of learning, and nourishing personal culture through acquaintance with literary works.

It may be objected that the form of the questionnaire directed choices toward 1, 2, and 3, but the personal statements showed that this was not the deciding factor. Many,

in fact, did not give top rating to No. 1 nor to No. 2, for what were clearly local reasons. No. 13 ranked higher than No. 4, and No. 19 was also highly rated.

Not surprisingly, many teachers proved to be eclectic, selecting from and combining orientations according to the needs of their particular students. The statements showed that most teachers were very sensitive to their students' personal and career interests, as a perusal of the statements in Appendix B will show. Of course, mere assertion of goals is not enough. The language teacher must be seen to be accomplishing the goals of the program, and the students must be experiencing success in the attainment of these objectives.

VARYING OBJECTIVES WITHIN THE UNITED STATES

Examination of the data from various areas and languages within the United States revealed no striking regional tendencies across languages. Objectives seemed to be related rather to the situation for a specific language in a particular area, as, for instance, with the emphasis on interpersonal relations and communication for Spanish students in California and for French students in the Deep South, and the desire to understand one's ethnic origin among Italian and Portuguese students in the Northeast. Other traditional influences could be detected, such as the strong liberal-education tradition in French studies in the Northeast. On the other hand, Texans seemed to emphasize the career possibilities of French as well as Spanish. In the Deep South, German put a top priority on communication skills, but this was not so for Spanish in the Southeast, where students and teachers seemed to yearn more for cultural understanding. Midwest high school German gave strong priority to self-expression, whereas high school French in the Midwest emphasized knowledge of how languages work, and Midwest Spanish showed a career orientation. English as a Second Language everywhere was mainly geared toward career concerns, communication, and cultural understanding.

In *French*, there was a difference in emphasis between universities and high schools, irrespective of region. High schools unanimously selected oral communication as their leading priority; universities varied in their emphases, some placing oral fluency first or second (California, Midwest, Northeast; Pacific Northwest, Texas), while others placed it last or did not select it at all (Southeast, Deep South). All universities (except for the Pacific Northwest and Texas) rated the study of French literature as important; the rating for literature was lowest wherever the rating for oral communication was highest (except in the Northeast); intellectual development rated highly with most. Except for some universities in the Deep South, French was considered a useful career adjunct by both high schools and colleges. Objectives related to international understanding were not highly rated for French, that is, items 11, 15, 18 (except for Texas, where seeing the world from a different perspective became important). Travel abroad did not seem to be a major concern of the French respondents. Universities rated cultural understanding more highly than high schools (except in the Pacific Northwest and Southeast). At both levels, the study of French was judged of educational value in introducing students to another mode of learning.

Respondents for *German* rated highly both oral communication and an understanding of how language works, at both high school and university levels, except in the

Northeast, where another avenue of human knowledge and understanding the values and viewpoints of others were considered more important. Literature was less emphasized by German respondents than French respondents (except in the Pacific Northwest high schools and the universities in California and the Mid-Atlantic states). There was an even split on the value of German as a career tool. Very few of the respondents selected as an objective the reading of scientific or philosophical writings, and those who did gave it a low ranking. Most were more preoccupied with breaking down chauvinistic and ethnocentric attitudes. Only at the university level was the question of travel abroad considered of urgent interest by the Germanists.

For *Spanish,* areas with strong concentrations of Spanish-speakers (e.g., Florida, Texas, New Mexico, and California) shared a common concern for developing the ability to communicate orally and to understand the values and viewpoints of their neighbors. They were also concerned about breaking down prejudices due to ethnocentric attitudes. In other areas, more emphasis was placed on intellectual development, a broader educational experience, a different view of the world, and the opportunity to read Spanish literature. Most teachers of Spanish saw the language as a useful career adjunct for their students. The goals for students of Spanish seem to vary more from region to region than for French, where the differences of viewpoint were greater between levels.

Oriental languages. In California the emphasis on the teaching of Chinese was on oral communication, understanding of cultural differences, appreciation of one's ethnic origin, and increased opportunities for enjoyment of life, whereas in the Northeast (Chinese and Japanese) reading, understanding other cultures, and having opportunities to experience a new mode of learning received the highest rankings.

Idaho (fifteen responses in French, German, Spanish, and ESL) provides an interesting example of situational influences on language-learning goals. In all four languages, preferences were shown for oral communication, understanding the values and viewpoints of others, and seeing the world from a different perspective. Spanish, however, put highest priority on experiencing another mode of learning, understanding another culture, and combating ethnocentric attitudes. Spanish teachers in Idaho put a lower priority on oral communication than did the French and German teachers. French respondents laid particular stress on oral communication, possibilities for travel, and the experience of another mode of learning. German respondents saw oral communication, cultural understanding, and seeing the world from a different perspective as most important. On the other hand, ESL teachers emphasized cultural understanding, oral communication, and the development of thought processes and comprehension of underlying meanings, the latter choice reflecting no doubt a realization that non-English speakers in high school and college need to learn to structure their intellectual products in a new way.

NATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN OBJECTIVES

We shall now consider some very different situations in various parts of the world, in Brazil, Thailand, various countries of the European Economic Community, the Far East, the Middle East, and Australia.

Teachers in *Brazil* (EFL, French, German, and Spanish: 14 respondents) identified a

strong need for language for career purposes, specifically the reading of technical literature, and for facility in oral communication. They also saw language study as providing an experience of another mode of learning. Teachers in *Thailand* (EFL: 5 respondents) also emphasized career uses and technical reading, but without the necessity for oral communication. The Thais also felt the need for their students to develop intellectually through the study of English, possibly because of the different thought patterns a non-cognate language requires. English, they felt, was necessary to give their students the feeling of belonging to an international community.

Sweden (EFL, French, German: 45 respondents) is a country with what one Swedish teacher described as a "peripheral language." It is a modern, industrialized country, deeply involved in social, political, and economic relations with other European countries. In Sweden, English is required at all levels and is essential for admission to a university. A strong effort is being made to internationalize higher education with exchanges of teachers and students. All languages in Sweden reported emphasis on oral communication, cultural understanding, language as a career tool (requiring particularly the ability to speak, read, and write the language, but with some emphasis on business skills and, to a lesser degree, on translating). The Swedes expected to travel, and the students of English, particularly, saw the language as giving them a feeling of belonging to an international community.

Other countries in the *European Economic Community*—Holland, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom (EFL, French, German: 43 responses—clearly care a great deal about oral fluency in another language for career purposes (to a lesser degree for students of French and German in Britain). They also rate highly the ability to understand the values and viewpoints of others. They stress the importance of knowing another language for international understanding (meeting other nations halfway, combating chauvinism, feeling that one belongs to an international community). Reading technical literature in another language is judged unimportant by most (except for ESL in Britain). This contrasts with the emphasis on this goal in less highly developed areas and in *Eastern Europe* (Poland, Rumania, USSR, Yugoslavia: 7 respondents) where career goals and technical reading generally rate highly, along with oral communication.

The goals of the learners of English in *Japan* (8 respondents) follow a similar pattern to that of the European Common Market countries, with the added emphasis on learning to express one's feelings more freely through a new medium. English teaching in *Israel* (6 respondents) seems more specifically career-oriented, with stress on reading all kinds of material, technical and literary, but with a strong emphasis on how language works and on intellectual processes. The Israelis also see the English language as a means of broadening their outlook.

The countries responding from the *Middle East* (Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Turkey: 30 respondents) all showed a strong interest in English for career purposes and technical reading. They looked forward to travel in other countries and broadened opportunities for enjoyment of life. They also considered language important educationally as another mode of learning. Kuwaitis, Iraquis, and Sudanese, in particular, showed a strong interest in understanding the values and viewpoints of the speakers of the language.

Australians and New Zealanders (ESL, French, German, Indonesian, Japanese: 45

respondents) felt the need to see the world from a different perspective and experience what it is like to belong to another linguistic group. They strongly emphasized oral communication, cultural understanding, and, for Japanese and ESL, the value of those languages as career tools (the English being mainly learned by immigrants and foreign students). Australians and New Zealanders also felt the need to combat ethnocentric attitudes in societies which have long been, at least psychologically, monolingual and monocultural, but which are now beginning to recognize their multilingual and multicultural character.

In *Canada* (ESL, French SL, German, Spanish: 38 respondents), there was a common concern in all languages with oral fluency, understanding of the values and viewpoints of others, and the usefulness of another language as a career tool. There was also an emphasis on the need to break down ethnocentric attitudes. Anglophone respondents also stressed the need to experience what it feels like to be a member of another linguistic/cultural group. Anglophones emphasized the need for a bilingual and bicultural country more than francophones, who preferred to work toward meeting others halfway.

Research for Development

HOW CAN THE TEACHER FIND OUT THE TYPE OF PROGRAM THE SITUATION DEMANDS?

The department head, in cooperation with the administration, teachers, counselors, parents, students, and school board, should investigate the needs and preferences of the community and of the school body in the area of language learning. The following series of projects in research for development are proposed for the consideration of teachers. They move from simpler sensitizing activities, with a textbook and class observation, to finding out facts at the classroom level. Much larger projects in the community itself may then be undertaken, and finally the experience gained should be shared with other teachers in other school systems.

(1) Examine a textbook and establish the set of objectives it attempts to satisfy. Compare these with the focused approaches discussed in this Report. How would you describe its basic orientation?

(2) Observe a class. What objectives did the teacher promote, actively or implicitly? How would you classify this teacher's approach?

(3) Fill in the questionnaire in Appendix A for your own approach to teaching a language to a particular class. Ask the students in this class to complete an adapted version of the questionnaire. Compare the results of your survey with your own profile of objectives. In what ways would you need to modify your teaching to bring it in line with your students' objectives? Do the students' objectives indicate a need for different types of courses from those being taught at present? How do you propose to meet this need?

(4) Ask your parents' association and the school board to fill in the questionnaire (appropriately adapted). Compare these results with your analysis of the students' ob-

jectives. How do the students' objectives differ from those of their parents? Do the parents' objectives differ from those of the school board? How does each of these relate to your teaching and your daily experience? Are there specific factors in your area which are determining community views or student views? Do the discrepancies you observe indicate the need for some kind of information dissemination in the community? How will you go about this?

(5) Ask all the teachers in the language department of your school to fill in the questionnaire. Are there differences in approach for different languages? Are there rational explanations for these? Are local factors influencing these differences? Are there local factors which should be influencing objectives? Do the profiles that emerge suggest that certain teachers would be most comfortable teaching courses with specific objectives? Can these orientations be accommodated in the course planning and teaching assignments for next year?

(6) Ask the school counselors and administrative personnel to fill in an appropriately adapted form of the questionnaire. Do their views coincide with those of the students, of the parents, of the school board, of the teachers in your department? Write a short report for the counselors and the administrative personnel giving them information on the views of the students, the parents, and the school board. Discuss this report in an inservice seminar with the teachers in your department. Where appropriate, plan changes to your present program.

(7) Examine the course descriptions in the catalogue or curriculum guide of your school. To what degree do the descriptions reflect the objectives of the students, the parents, and the school board, as you have identified them? To what degree do they reflect what actually takes place in the classrooms in your school? Discuss with the teachers in your department what changes should be made in the course descriptions and in actual classroom teaching.

(8) Examine language-teaching journals and conference programs of the past year. Do they reflect the type of information you have uncovered for your school or school district? In what ways are the recommendations of experts different from those of practicing teachers describing their own programs? Prepare a conference paper or workshop to share your findings with others.

Professional Implications

In the present atmosphere of competing pressures, with its consequent demand for careful decision-making on the part of the teacher, the need for flexible preservice and inservice training becomes evident. Teachers need to have a thorough command of the language they are teaching and a wide knowledge of their professional field. They need to keep in touch with findings in the area of language learning. They should know how to design courses for the specific purposes of their students and how to select the techniques and materials which will enable their students to achieve these purposes in the most efficient and interesting way. They should not be tied to one approach or to one particular set of techniques, but be able to adapt and innovate. They should know where in the professional literature to find the kind of help and advice they need. They

should help each other through the sharing of ideas.

Above all, our language teachers must be thoughtful professionals. Interest in languages and in the phenomenon of language in operation in the communication of ideas and feelings is always latent, ready to be sparked by stimulating programs. There may be a lull in one place at one time, while enthusiasm is rising in another. We must believe in the contributions we can and are making to education the world over as one profession. We can be encouraged by each other's successes and learn from each other's mistakes. Certainly, we have much to share with each other.

In the final issue, however, it is individual teachers who must decide where their programs should be going and how they should be implemented. As Montaigne has expressed it: "*L'archier doit premièrement sçavoir où il vise, et puis y accommoder la main, l'arc, la corde, la flesche et les mouvemens. . . . Nul vent fait pour celuy qui n'a point de port destiné.*" (Essais II.i.)

Appendix A

QUESTIONNAIRE ON FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNER'S GOALS*

Name:

Institution:

State or Country:

Main Language(s) Taught:

Level(s) of instruction to which my comments below refer:

- ☐ Graduate
- ☐ Undergraduate
- ☐ Junior or Community College
- ☐ Senior High School
- ☐ Other (please specify)
- ☐ Technical or Vocational School
- ☐ Elementary School
- ☐ Extension, Night, or Adult classes
- ☐ Migrant or Immigrant classes

In the educational situation and social climate in which I work at the present time, I consider the most important goals for foreign language learners are the following (please write a concise statement):

*This questionnaire, prepared by Wilga M. Rivers, should prove useful for stimulating discussion in methods classes, for inservice training, or for discussions on curriculum change and development. It is presented essentially as it was used in the study, except that 'listening' and 'adjunct skill in career field' have been added to 3, 'isolationism' has been changed to 'ethnocentrism' in 12, 'multilingual and multicultural' have been included in 14, and 22-24 have been added. All these additions and changes were suggested by respondents to the questionnaire. The author wishes to thank all who so willingly contributed to the study.

In the present educational, national, and social climate, I consider the most important goals for foreign language learners in the situation in which I work are as marked below. (Please *rank in order of importance* about *seven* of the objectives given below, putting the numbers 1-7 in the squares at the left of the numbered objectives you have selected. Use 1 for the most important goal, 2 for the next most important, and so on. If some of the other stated objectives seem to you patently inappropriate or unimportant today, write *NO* in the box. Leave the remaining squares blank.)

☐ 1. To communicate orally with speakers of FL
☐ 2. To understand viewpoints and values of speakers of FL
☐ 3. To use FL as a tool for career purposes
(Check important boxes below)

particularly	speaking FL	☐	business skills in FL	☐
	reading FL	☐	interpreting in FL	☐
	writing FL	☐	adjunct skill in career field	☐
	listening to FL	☐	translating FL	☐
	other	☐		

☐ 4. To increase personal culture through reading literary works in FL
☐ 5. To read technical literature (scientific, philosophical, psychological, etc.)
☐ 6. To understand more about how language works (FL and native language)
☐ 7. To develop intellectually (think logically and abstractly, understand underlying meanings, etc.)
☐ 8. To express one's feelings more freely through a new medium (personality development, self-confidence, etc.)
☐ 9. To facilitate travel abroad
☐ 10. To gain understanding of one's ethnic origin
☐ 11. To demonstrate willingness to meet other nations halfway
☐ 12. To combat chauvinism, parochialism, and ethnocentrism
☐ 13. To broaden one's educational experience through another mode of learning (another avenue of human knowledge)
☐ 14. To make this country bilingual and bicultural (or multilingual and multicultural)
☐ 15. To develop the feeling of belonging to an international community
☐ 16. To broaden opportunities for enjoyment of life (leisure, etc.)
☐ 17. To learn about other places, other times, other institutions
☐ 18. To see the world from a different perspective
☐ 19. To experience through language and language-related activities what it feels like to be a member of another linguistic/cultural group
☐ 20. To understand how communities are structured and operate
☐ 21. To understand how meanings are expressed and communicated
☐ 22. To learn the four skills for basic language proficiency
☐ 23. To satisfy an educational requirement
☐ 24. To be able to function in the second language cultural milieu
☐ 25. Other

Appendix B

WHAT KIND OF COURSE SHOULD I DESIGN?

Read the following quotations from responses to the questionnaire in Appendix A. Consider the situation indicated by the attribution in parentheses. What approach would you take to course development to provide for the interests and needs expressed in each quotation?

(1) [Students' objectives] tend to change as the makeup of the class does, but they seem to be the more practical reasons: to get a job, to get a degree, to be able to use technical material in their jobs (Ontario, adult classes, English).

(2) Language learning is invaluable as a way to 'get out of oneself,' to become something (or someone) out of the ordinary, daily context of life. It affords a student the opportunity to communicate with persons having a different set of values and viewpoints. This 'global' aspect of foreign language learning makes the role of the language teacher unique and akin to the role of the fine arts teacher, who attempts to get students out of their shells (theater) and into communication with others (New York State, college, French).

(3) My students need to learn about the language and lifestyle of their forefathers. They need to learn that we [the members of their community] are not a quaint and peculiar (and thus something to be ashamed of) people, but rather we are people who have a heritage of which we should be proud. If we understand our background, then we will understand ourselves better (Pennsylvania, high school, German).

(4) Our students do not want to *only* learn how to order meals in London, but how to understand the cultural, political, social, literary, and economic problems and issues of the Anglo-Saxon world. They do not want to listen to tapes about tourists in New York; rather, they would prefer tapes in the target language from the Voice of America or the BBC dealing with issues of importance. Our students want content not frills (Brazil, college, English).

(5) The most important goal is that of learning to *understand* the foreign language: to understand it when it is spoken (in conversation; radio programs; songs; movies. . .) and written. This understanding, at more advanced levels, also requires an awareness of the social system, the values, the history etc. of those who speak the language under study. Note: I put understanding above speaking (or writing) because communication is often possible if you understand another person's language—and then express yourself clearly and distinctly in English, or with signs, or with pidgin (Massachusetts, college, French).

(6) To learn a considerable amount of vocabulary and structures that enable the learners to understand lectures and take notes, to understand what they read in their specialization (engineering), to make notes and write reports on what they read or see in the laboratory/workshop (Kuwait, junior college, Arabic, English, and French).

(7a) I hope to expose students to other cultures and to impart the idea that 'different' is not necessarily 'bad' or 'weird', as they are prone to believe. It is important also that foreign language learners, particularly at the junior high school level, are exposed to the world outside Idaho (Idaho, junior high school, French and Spanish).

(7b) Breaking down the provincialism which so often typifies the young American student, neatly tucked away in the suburban ghetto (Washington, high school, French).

(8) Language is *communication*. Our goals should be (but aren't always!) intercultural understanding, increased awareness of other peoples and cultures and, hence, a better understanding of our own. Young people all over the world are eager to communicate with one another (Massachusetts, college, French).

(9) I write from Britain, now part of the multilingual European Community. It is clear that the educated citizen must henceforth be a multilingual citizen. The rapid spread of English facilitates

communication, but unless the English speaker reciprocates by showing *some* foreign language ability, he increasingly suffers a psychological put-down. On the side, foreign language can be fun, can be a useful tool, can be helpful to personal development, can illuminate understanding of the native language. But, fundamentally foreign language is essential because we must enable future citizens to function in a multilingual world (United Kingdom, adult classes and undergraduate, English and French).

(10) Above all, students should learn to express themselves creatively, both orally and in writing. Whether he knows it or not, each person has the ability to be creative, and this ability can positively be brought to the fore with relatively minor effort, and the right amount of (and variation in) class and homework assignments (New York State, high school, French, Spanish, English as a second language).

(11) Des objectifs dont les apprenants eux-mêmes soient *conscients* parce que leur définition aura fait l'objet d'une négociation continue avec eux. Des objectifs révisables si besoin est au cours du processus d'apprentissage (France, adults and immigrants, French).

(12) [This] is a career-oriented school. Students want to learn a foreign language—especially Spanish—because they believe it will be useful to them in their careers. Many students in advanced language courses are already using Spanish in their Co-op and after-school jobs. They benefit immensely from conversation courses stressing medical and business vocabulary. Students in basic language courses feel that knowledge of a foreign language will help them obtain jobs. In a nutshell, their goal is to *communicate* with the *Community* (Massachusetts, college, Spanish).

(13) I see a mission for foreign languages as one of the best curricular 'eye openers' to be found at the university level. At a time when students are capable of understanding the global gestalt, are studying the intricate balances of nature and mankind in courses ranging from geology through history through literature and beyond, are firming up their philosophies of life, the foreign language classroom—and should—center attention on the role of the human being in an interdependent complex of land/sea masses. Language is the vehicle that carries us down the multi-laned roads connecting people, all of whom are in motion. Language study can make the collisions only always meaningful rather than disastrous (Florida, college, Spanish).

(14) It is important for the foreign language learners (in Denmark, everybody) to be able to use their [illegible] languages as an instrument of their emancipation. . . . To be a good Dane you must learn foreign languages. This statement . . . implies that communicative competence is the focus (Denmark, high school and college, German).

(15) Students' goals are social in nature, as opposed to being intellectual or academic. Students want to know people who speak Spanish as other humans who live in a different culture and communicate in a different language. Third-year students in a questionnaire administered at the end of the 1978 school year indicate that their reasons for studying Spanish are to travel to foreign countries, to talk to people who speak Spanish, to be able to read magazines and newspapers, and to learn more about people who speak Spanish. All of the above reasons indicate their desire to know Spanish speakers as people (Ohio, high school, Spanish).

(16) To learn how to understand lengthy, highly technical articles written in English and intended for native readers, i.e., to learn the conventions for making grammatical cohesion, discoursal functions (hypotheses, classifications, etc.), and author's attitude. To learn how to read quickly in order to cover lengthy bibliographies (Israel, college, English).

(17) Since I have detected an opposite trend in the current talk of 'communicative skills,' I must state that I am strongly against setting up 'Englishness' as a goal for English teaching. A Swede will always remain a Swede, and whether he can mutter the right words at the bar of a London pub is of little importance. What does matter, however, is whether he is able to express his—inevitably Swedish—views and has such a knowledge of the interlocuter's—English, American, African, or other—national background that he is prepared for an exchange based on

goodwill and understanding (Sweden, junior college, English and French).

(18) To add to motivation to learn by giving students an *application* to which they can put their skills to work on a practical basis: a course at the eleventh- or twelfth-grade level offered in a foreign language, for example U.S. history offered in Spanish for students having completed three years of Spanish previously (Utah, secondary and adult, French and Spanish).

(19) Social and intellectual relativism and cosmopolitanism; evolution of a personal style through confrontation with other national styles and idioms; the sheer visceral fun of linguistic playfulness (Massachusetts, college, French).

(20) The objectives are not very clear at the secondary-school level. Yet, they do become clear as soon as one leaves school or accedes to the university. Hence the shift nowadays toward English for Special Purposes:

(a) English for secretaries: final year of Technical School;
(b) English for Science students: final year of Lycée;
(c) Special English for students of the Facultés des Sciences et Techniques, de Gestion, de Médecine;
(d) English for hotel people.

The goals are becoming clearer here, as the secondary-school *responsables* now have accepted to consider the needs of the prospective clerks, technologists, and graduate and undergraduate students. All the skills have to be developed, but ultimately the main skill should be *the reading skill*. The other goal is to belong to an international community whose language is obviously English. French is still as important as Arabic, Tunisia's mother tongue (Tunisia, Ministry of Education, English).

(21) Insisto en que, a los grupos indígenas de México les es *indispensable hablar* español porque las culturas indígenas de México son culturas ágrafas y el empeño porque escriban sus lenguas es una utopía; sin embargo, si no hablan español no podrán ser escolarizados porque todos los textos son en español y, además no podrán superarse económica ni socialmente (Mexico, Indian education, Spanish).

(22) To gain the ability to extract information in the foreign language and then apply this information in the native language (Mexico, undergraduate, English).

(23) For the non-major, I believe that the most important goals are humanistic — gaining insights into another culture and language, becoming aware of how languages work, increasing in tolerance for other ways of speaking and behaving — rather than practical. I feel, however, that the students themselves tend to focus on more concrete, practical and short-term goals. In my classes, I try to reach them through *their* goals — travel, careers, etc., — in order to keep them interested and enthusiastic enough so that I can lead them, or at least a few of them, to the humanistic goals which I think are an essential part of a liberal education (South Carolina, university, French).

(24) In this area specifically, many of our students see a need to understand what their Mexican-American friends are saying, and to communicate with them (Arizona, high school and college, Spanish).

(25) The world has become so small in this end of the twentieth century and international exchanges so important and so vital that any human being who can only speak his mother tongue can be considered as a kind of cripple. The study of at least one other language as a way of increasing the individual's power of communication ought to be an indispensable part of every secondary-school curriculum. From a cultural point of view, one can hardly imagine a present form of culture within the narrow boundaries of one language, whatever its prestige and its international status. Monolingualism is a serious handicap indeed (France, Ministry of Education, English).

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Cindy: A Learner in Today's Foreign Language Classroom

Introduction

Over the past few years we have begun to acquire a great deal of insight into differences in styles of learning among students in general and second language learners in particular. We can, for example, begin to characterize students along dimensions such as their need for structure, their preferred sensory modality, and their preferred sociological setting.[1] We have not, however, begun to diagnose the individual student's learning style in a fine-grained and idiosyncratic way—much as the talented physician might do who is presented with a medical problem for which he has no ready-made cure. Part of the difficulty in our research methodology—as valuable as it has been in some ways—is that it has focused on a rather large sample size as its unit for diagnosis and treatment.

We have done very little in the way of studying the individual stripped of the washout effect of large numbers. The purpose of this Report is to show how it is possible to see the individual as a unique personality. We shall present some methodology that will enable both the classroom teacher and the experimenter to understand the individual student in new ways and to provide some instructional strategies based upon that understanding.

Before we begin, it is worth stressing that we do not expect most teachers to be able to find the time to carry out this case-study investigation with each student. We are suggesting, however, that to do so, in even a small number of cases, would considerably enhance the teacher's sensitivity to a host of difficulties many students face. Some teachers may only be able to do 'bits and pieces' of what we suggest, while other teachers may simply recognize they cannot do any of it, but the very fact that they have thought about it will change them. It is conceivable that modification of the scheme we are suggesting might be made which would enable students to diagnose each other's idiosyncratic style of learning. These and other options will be considered in the latter portion of this article.

1. See, for example, Carol Hosenfeld, "The New Student Role: Individual Differences and Implications for Instruction," in *Perspective: A New Freedom*, ed. Gilbert A. Jarvis (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1975); Helen S. Lepke, "Assessing Individual Learning Styles: An Analysis of Five Instruments," *Foreign Language Annals*, 11 (1978), 657-68; and Anthony Papalia, *Learner-Centered Language Teaching: Methods and Materials* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1976).

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Though considerable explanation (and some disclaimers as well) are needed in order to put what we are about to explore in appropriate context, we leave most of this theoretical discussion for the end of the paper, so as not to delay the excitement and enjoyment we hope the reader will experience. Two brief, important points are worth stressing, however:

> (1) Though teaching strategies do flow from the diagnosis of such case studies, the specific style of teacher-learner interaction that follows from such an encounter places a much heavier burden on the student than is traditionally the case.
>
> (2) Both the student and the teacher (as researcher) who use the methodology suggested are placed in the position not of performers for each other but as mutual problem-solvers, that is, though a specific strategy will be suggested, the last thing the author would hope for is a program for the participant that minimizes use of critical faculties. In a sense, both teacher and student who employ this strategy place themselves in the role of educational researcher. The emphasis of that role, however, is more on researcher as *hypothesis generator* than as *verifier*.

Cindy: Profile of a Foreign Language Learner[2]

CONTEXT

The following environmental factors provide context which contributes to Cindy's individuality and sheds light upon her reading behavior. These factors provide the environment without which "[human behavior] has no meaning, without which it has no envelope."[3]

Community. The community in which Cindy lives is located on the outer fringe of the urbanized area of Buffalo, N.Y. Largely a residential community, it is the home of many professional people (doctors, professors, business executives), skilled people (electricians, athletes), and retired people who bought their homes many years ago. The suburb is a patchwork of upper-middle and middle-class neighborhoods. Cindy's neighborhood, with its large homes, secluded by tall hedges, merges into an area of more closely spaced homes, which, within a few blocks, opens out into another well-to-do area.

Family. Cindy is the younger of two children of two professors at the State University of New York at Buffalo. Her father is in biochemistry, her mother in nursing. Her twenty-one-year-old sister was graduated recently from college with a major in biochemistry. Fourteen-year-old Cindy plans to major in veterinary science or medical technology and to work in a clinic or a hospital. The family has traveled in several

2. Cindy is a fictitious name.
3. Jules Henry, *Pathways to Madness* (New York: Random House, 1972), p. xv.

foreign countries, including Scotland, Germany, and France. Cindy feels that she probably will not use a foreign language in her profession, but she intends to travel, and she would like to learn several languages. Her alternate career choices are in the health sciences (the area of her mother's profession), and her purpose for learning foreign languages—to travel—is a continuation of a family activity.

High School. Cindy's high school has a proud tradition of educational innovations: the first school in western New York to offer American Field Service, advanced placement courses, and a four-year Russian program; to implement modular scheduling; and to provide space for the first program offered by BOCES.[4] All of these curricular innovations are common practice now—except Russian, which cannot be found in any high school curriculum in western New York.

The school is also noted for the high achievement of its students. Each year, students score high on Scholastic Aptitude Tests, Advanced Placement tests, and Regents Examinations.[5] In addition, seventy percent of the students who begin college programs complete those programs. (The national norm is forty-eight percent.)

One of the most visible characteristics of the school to an outsider is the freedom students have with modular scheduling. Students decide for themselves what they want to do with their free time. During their free periods, they can go to one of three libraries, a supervised or unsupervised study hall, a career-resource center, the cafeteria, outside on the school grounds, or to a teacher. (It is a clinic system which allows for extra help during the school day.)

Cindy, a freshman in the college preparatory program, is an honor-roll student in the top quarter of her class. An active, athletic girl, she has many extracurricular activities including a leading role in the spring play, tennis, skiing, and figure skating.

Foreign Language Program. Seven years ago, Cindy's high school had one of the outstanding foreign language programs in western New York. Until that time, language study began at the high school, where a student could take four levels of five languages—French, Spanish, German, Latin, and Russian. At that point, however, to provide an earlier language experience, a new six-through-twelve program was implemented in the school district. At present, every student takes French or Spanish in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades for one unit of language study and one year of the same language in high school for two units which can be applied toward graduation. Continuing students take one or two additional courses, and, until recently, Advanced Placement courses were available for interested students.

The new six-through-twelve program has reduced the high school's full-fledged, five-language program to a two-and-a half-language program. The reduction is due to several factors: (1) Because the middle school program is only a French and Spanish se-

4. BOCES, the Board of Cooperative Educational Services, functions as an extension of local school systems. It provides programs in special education and occupational education which school districts are not able to offer as effectively or economically on their own.

5. The Regents Examination is a statewide examination prepared by the Division of Educational Testing of the State Education Department at Albany with the help of teachers throughout the state of New York. Tests are prepared in the areas of mathematics, social studies, science, English, business, and foreign languages.

quence, other language courses in the high school have low enrollments. (2) Because the middle school sequence is not equivalent to one year of high school study and because students are promoted with averages as low as 65, students are unprepared for subsequent levels, and enrollment in third- and fourth-levels is low. In times of fiscal difficulties, classes with few students are often cancelled. Due to low enrollment, Advanced Placement French and Spanish will not be offered next year.

French Class. Enrolled in the French sequence in the middle school, Cindy is presently completing a level-two French course in high school. Basically, her French course is a grammar course. Grammar lessons are based chiefly upon material found in the textbook and on handouts prepared by the teacher, who defended the grammar emphasis of the course as follows: "All of the lower-level [language] courses are building up to the Regents Exam. I think there is a basic fear on the part of teachers that if a high percentage of students fail the Regents, they are not doing their job, and that's a difficult exam. It's full of grammar. But, that's the problem. We all teach for the exam because that's what we're expected to do."[6]

Cindy is a quiet, cooperative student in French class. She seldom volunteers information, but, when called upon, she usually knows the answer. (Cindy has maintained an *A* average in the course.) Her French teacher described her as "a good crammer," that is, she puts forth a lot of effort at times, particularly before tests. She also feels that Cindy struggles at some things, but she was unable to specify what Cindy's difficulties might be.

French Reading Instruction. Generally, on days devoted to reading, the classroom teacher engages students in the following activity: a student reads the first paragraph of a text aloud. The class translates the paragraph in a kind of 'group translation.' The next paragraph is read aloud, and the class translates it. This process is used with two types of materials: selections from the textbook and from *Ça Va.*[7] Questions accompanying text passages are answered orally in class or assigned for homework.[8]

When I asked Cindy what she had been told about reading, she replied that the only thing she could remember was something her middle-school teacher had said: "If you don't know the meaning of a word, don't be lazy, look it up." This directive had no effect upon Cindy's reading style.

CINDY DECODING ALOUD

Many reading strategies that students use to attach meaning to a printed text can be externalized by asking students to decode aloud as they read several passages. The

6. This is the classroom teacher's perception of the Regents Exam and neither that of the author nor of the test writers. During the past four years, over 90% of the students who took the foreign language Regents Exam passed it—a much higher percentage than for Regents Exams in other disciplines. In addition, the examination does not test grammar in isolation or for its own sake, but rather as one of the natural ingredients of language.

7. *Ça Va* is a scholastic magazine containing articles of interest to young, high-school, level-two French students.

8. This translation approach is the classroom teacher's method of teaching reading and is not sanctioned by either the author or the authors of the text *(Le Francais à Découvrir)*.

assumption is that decoding aloud reflects, if not parallels, their actual, inner process of decoding. (A procedure teachers can use to identify students' decoding strategies is presented on pages 68 ff.)

During two hour-long sessions, Cindy decoded aloud five reading passages: three from her text and two from *Ça Va*. Unlike her classroom behavior, which is quiet and reticent, she was talkative and eager to reveal her decoding techniques. The following are a portion of one of the textbook tasks, a translation, and a transcription of the decoding segment.

Un Ville Impressionnante

Une des anciennes provinces de la France s'appelle le Languedoc. Située sur la Méditerranée, cette province est le pays de la vigne et de l'olivier. En automne, quand le raisin et les olives sont mûrs, toute la population des villages cueille les fruits. Les enfants montent sur les oliviers pour secouer les branches, et les olives tombent.

(La ville de Carcassonne se trouve dans cette province-ci. Il y a en réalité deux villes de Carcassonne—la partie ancienne, nommée la Cité, située sur une colline et la partie moderne, nommée la Ville-Basse, située dans la vallée.)

La Ville-Basse est un grand centre commercial, très moderne, très animé. Les rues se coupent à angle droit comme dans les villes américaines. C'est saint Louis, Louis IX, qui est responsable pour la construction de cette ville. C'est lui qui a proposé le plan régulier des rues. Le canal du Midi, ou le canal des Deux-Mers, passe au nord-ouest de Carcassonne. Ce canal, le plus ancien canal français, relie la mer Méditerranée et l'ocean Atlantique. Les péniches sur le canal transportent une grande quantité de marchandises.[9]

se coupent à angle droit - *are at right angles*

saint Louis - *King of France from 1226 to 1270*

relie - *links*

A Translation of the Text

An Impressive City

One of the former provinces of France is called Languedoc. Situated on the Mediterranean, this province is the major area of grape and olive production. In autumn, when the grapes and olives are ripe, all the villagers gather the fruit. The children climb the olive trees to shake the branches, and the olives fall.

(The city of Carcassonne is located in this province. Carcassonne is actually two cities—an old

9. From Cindy's text: *Jo Helstrom and Mary S. Metz, Le Français à Découvrir* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 302.

section, called La Cité, located on a hill, and a new section, called Ville-Basse, located in the valley.)

The Ville-Basse is a large commercial center, very modern, very animated. The streets are at right angles as in American cities. It is Saint Louis, Louis IX, who is responsible for the construction of this city. It is he who proposed the regular plan of the streets. The Midi canal, or the Deux-Mers canal, passes northeast of Carcassonne. This canal, the oldest in France, links the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. The barges carry large quantities of merchandise.

Cindy Decoding Aloud

Cindy: (She reads aloud two sentences.) An some . . . ancient provinces of France . . . its name is Languedoc. It's situated . . . on the Mediterranean . . . it is province and the (Pause) I don't know any of these words. (Long pause)

Interviewer: What would you do if you were reading this at home?

Cindy: I'd keep going. (She reads aloud two sentences.) In an automobile, raisins and olives grow . . . the population . . . of the villages . . . raise fruits. The infants . . . on the olives for secure the branches . . . and the olives come down. (She reads aloud two sentences.) The village basin . . . is a grand commercial center, very modern, very . . . enemy? The streets . . . I'm not sure what *coupent* is so I just keep going . . . like in American villages. (She reads aloud three sentences.) It is Saint Louis, Louis the IX, and it's under construction for . . . for the construction of the village. It is his job to direct traffic in the streets. The canal of . . . Is that something at noon? (Pause)

Interviewer: What do you think it is?

Cindy: Noon . . . The canal at noon it goes by Deux-Mers . . . the northeast of Carcassonne. (She reads aloud two sentences.) I don't know what this is, Is it canal or it is canal . . . like a canal of France . . . the Mediterranean Ocean and Atlantic Ocean. On the canal . . . take grand quantities of merchandise.

Interviewer: How do you feel about the story?

Cindy: I don't know what's going on.

Interviewer: What would you do now if you were reading this at home?

Cindy: I'd do something else.

Interviewer: Would you read the story again?

Cindy: No. I'd wait to get the meaning in class.

General Decoding Behavior. One way to attach meaning to printed words is to relate foreign language words to English words. English words come from two sources: students remember the meaning of words (memory), or they guess the meaning of words (guessing). Just as students differ in their ability to remember English words, they differ in the way in which they guess the meaning of words. Basically, there are two types of guessing: *contextual* and *noncontextual* guessing.

A contextual guesser knows that context places constraints upon what an unfamiliar word might be and uses this information (both semantic and syntactic) to reduce the number of alternatives from which to select an appropriate word. The guesses, therefore, are not random. They are influenced by the context of the segment already decoded, the context of the sentence in which the unfamiliar word appears, and the grammatical function of the unfamiliar word.

A contextual guesser uses many strategies to attach meaning to printed text. Twenty of these strategies are listed below. While some strategies pertain directly to contextual guessing (strategies 1-5), other strategies can be viewed as auxiliary. There is some overlap in the list, but as Charles Cooper and Anthony Petrosky [10] perceptively note, listing strategies is similar to laying shingles; the overlap is "to insure there will be no leaks." This list is not presented as a definitive list, but as the beginning of a list to be completed and modified by further research on decoding strategies. A contextual guesser tends to:

(1) Keep the meaning of a passage in mind while reading, and use it to predict meaning;

(2) Skip unfamiliar words and guess their meaning from remaining words in a sentence or later sentences;

(3) Circle back in the text to bring to mind previous context to decode an unfamiliar word; for example, to decode the phrase, *le plan régulier des rues*, a student might say: "Well, they're talking about the construction of a city, so maybe this means the regular layout of the streets;"

(4) Identify the grammatical function of an unfamiliar word before guessing its meaning;

(5) Assess the appropriateness or logic of a guess;

(6) Examine the illustration and use information contained in it in decoding;

(7) Read the title and draw inferences from it;

(8) Refer to the side gloss;

(9) Turn to the glossary for the meaning of an unfamiliar word—but only as a last resort;

(10) Look up words correctly in a glossary;

(11) After several unsuccessful attempts to decode a word, let the word go;

(12) Recognize cognates;

(13) Use knowledge of the world to decode an unfamiliar word; for example, to decode the title of the passage, *Une Ville Impressionante*, a student might say: "They're talking about a city, and you could say Toronto is an impressive city, so maybe it's *An Impressive City*;"

(14) Skip words that may add relatively little to total phrase meaning (such as

10 "A Psycholinguistic View of the Fluent Reading Process," *Journal of Reading*, 20 (1976), 194.

specific adjectives in a concatenation of adjectives);

(15) Follow through with a proposed solution to a problem; for example, a student might say: "I guess I'll read the next paragraph to see if it gives me some clue to the meaning of the unfamiliar word." The student actually reads the next paragraph with this purpose in mind and, upon finding a clue, uses it to decode the unfamiliar word;

(16) Circle back purposefully in the text: (a) to complete an incomplete sentence, (b) to correct an inaccurate guess, (c) and to combine unconnected words and phrases into a meaningful sentence;

(17) Recognize the grammatical function of words and use the information to identify: (a) unessential words (such as articles and adverbs), and (b) words whose form must be changed before they can be found in a glossary;

(18) Use orthographic information in decoding; for example, capitalized words can denote persons or places and may be categorized as such without either translating or trying to pronounce the words. Although translating some proper names facilitates contextual guessing, it is also useful to be able to categorize some names as such and to continue reading without translating them;

(19) Demonstrate sensitivity to a different word order in the foreign language; for example, *le plan régulier des rues* is translated 'the regular plan of the streets;'

(20) Change awkward translations into good English; for example, the phrase *s'appelle le Languedoc*, is changed from 'calls itself Languedoc' to 'is called Languedoc.'[11]

As well as guessing the meaning of words contextually and using the auxiliary strategies listed above, contextual guessers often know many words. The more words they know, the fewer they must guess, and the greater are their chances of guessing the remaining words correctly because they have more contextual information.

Cindy's Decoding Behavior. Cindy has a limited vocabulary and, therefore, must guess the meaning of many words. Because her contextual information is limited, her chances of guessing correctly are reduced, and she begins each reading task at a disadvantage. Cindy, however, fails to use context that is available to her to predict meaning, to guess the meaning of unfamiliar words, and to assess the logic of her guesses. She does not use any of the strategies pertaining to contextual guessing; the only auxiliary strategy she uses is recognizing cognates. But she recognizes so few cognates that she does not control this strategy either.

There is none of the purposeful, recursive behavior of a contextual guesser in Cindy's decoding behavior. She rarely circles back in the text to complete incomplete sentences, to connect unconnected words and phrases into sentences, and to bring to mind previous context to decode unfamiliar words. She decodes reading tasks as though they were vocabulary tasks, in which words and phrases were arranged horizontally instead of in columns. With Cindy, the decoding process is more of an identification process. An analogous situation would exist with a mathematical task if, instead of adding a column of numbers to obtain its sum, a student demonstrated ability to name each number separately but could not integrate them to obtain their sum.

11. This list of reading strategies is derived from research conducted during the past three years by the author at the State University of New York at Buffalo.

The instructional situation does not require Cindy to attach meaning to assigned reading passages. She can perform all required tasks—read aloud, contribute to group translations, and answer textbook questions—with only a vague idea of what the stories are about. The textbook passages are uninteresting, comprehension of what is read is rarely tested, and meanings are supplied in class (see Cindy's remark, page 58, and the description of reading instruction, page 56); thus, there are no intrinsic or extrinsic motivational factors which might cause Cindy to read the material carefully.

LEARNING TO DECODE

The question was: "How can I help Cindy to acquire the strategies of a contextual guesser?"

Inductive or Deductive Technique? Two techniques are possible: an inductive or a deductive technique. I could create an environment in which Cindy could discover the strategies for herself, or I could tell her what the strategies are. I chose the former technique for several reasons. First, I felt that if Cindy could discover the differences between her strategies and those of a contextual guesser, she might understand and accept them better. Secondly, a discovery approach might dissipate some of the discomfort of revealing her poor decoding skills to herself and to someone else.

A second question was: "What kind of contextual guesser should be used as a model?" Three sets of protocols of contextual guessers decoding reading tasks in Cindy's textbook were available from an earlier study.[12] One contextual guesser was a nontranslator who translated when problems arose; another was a translator who kept some segments in the foreign language and read each task several times; the third was a translator who kept some segments in the foreign language and read each task only once.

Initially, I used the nontranslator as a model to see if Cindy could use this approach. After Cindy made several unsuccessful attempts to attach meaning directly in the foreign language, this strategy was abandoned. It is not surprising that she could not use this strategy, since she had been given chiefly translation tasks in class. Cindy was equally uncomfortable with the second reader's approach. Because her vocabulary was limited, she could not get very much meaning during an initial, 'quick' reading. Finally, the third reader was selected as a model.

Cindy and I met for eight 45-minute remedial sessions during her free periods.[13] At the beginning of each session, she decoded aloud an unassigned reading passage in her text. She analyzed her strategies, analyzed those of the third model, and listed, in her own words, differences between the two approaches. Cindy often stated the differences in specific rather than general terms, and it was necessary for me to ask her to restate them. The purpose of having her formulate *general differences* was so that she would have

12. This study is reported in Carol Hosenfeld, "A Preliminary Investigation of the Reading Strategies of Successful and Nonsuccessful Second Language Learners," *System* 5, ii (1977), 110-23.

13. The remedial technique described in this section is an adaptation of a technique used by Benjamin Bloom and Lois Broder to remediate problem-solving processes of college students. For a description of the technique, see Benjamin S. Bloom and Lois J. Broder, *Problem-Solving Processes of College Students*, Supplementary Educational Monographs, No. 73 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950).

a list of strategies she could apply with any reading task. This initial phase was followed by a practice phase, in which Cindy practiced the strategies with reading tasks found earlier in her textbook. When she decided she was ready, she decoded another passage, compared her strategies with those of the model, listed the differences, and added any new differences to her 'list.'

Cindy's Final List. Cindy's final list of the differences between her strategies and those of the model follows. The list was extended and revised many times during the eight remedial sessions.

(1) He keeps the story in mind as he goes along; I just think about the word I'm translating.

(2) He reads the title, looks at the picture, and looks at the words on the side of the page; I never do.

(3) He gets English words from French words. Some words are alike; other words are a little bit different. I don't see the English word in the French word.

(4) After he guesses a word, he checks to see if it fits into the sentence; I don't stop to see if it makes sense.

(5) He knows if a word is a noun, an adjective, or a verb. Before looking up a verb in the back of the book, he changes it to the infinitive form.

(6) He skips words if he doesn't need them to get the meaning of the story; I skip words too, but they're usually words I need.

(7) At the end, he knows what the story is about; I don't.

(8) He brings in outside information to figure out some words. I just never thought of doing that.

(9) He moves along pretty steadily; I do, too, except I lose time when I stop and give up.

(10) A capitalized word in the middle of a sentence can be the name of a person or a place, and you don't always need to translate it.

(11) Sometimes the order of the words is different in English than in French, and you have to switch the words around; otherwise it sounds funny.

(12) If he realizes he's made a mistake in an earlier part of the story, he goes back and corrects it.

How Did Cindy Do? The following protocol was obtained from Cindy during the seventh remedial session. The reading passage and a translation are provided.

Le Prix des Pigeons

A huit heures du matin, un facteur est entré dans une maison de la rue Meslay à Paris. Il a laissé une lettre pour M. Lebrun.

laissé - *left*

Qui est ce M. Lebrun et que contient la lettre? M. Lebrun est un gros homme de quarante-cinq ans qui a fait une petite fortune. Il a eu une femme et il a une fille.

Quand la bonne de M. Lebrun est descendue pour faire des achats, elle a découvert la lettre. Elle est montée vite et elle l'a donnée à M. Lebrun.

faire des achats - *go shopping*

Assis devant son bureau, M. Lebrun écrit des lettres. Par hasard, ce matin-là Julie est près de son père quand la bonne apporte la lettre. Or-

par hasard - *by chance*

dinairement Julie se lève à dix heures et demie.[14]

Translation

The Prize of the Pigeons

At eight o'clock in the morning, a mailman entered a house on Meslay Street in Paris. He left a letter for Mr. Lebrun.

Who is Mr. Lebrun and what does the letter contain? Mr. Lebrun is a heavy-set man, forty-five years old, who has made a small fortune. He had a wife, and he has a daughter.

When Mr. Lebrun's maid came down to go shopping, she discovered the letter. She went up quickly and gave it to Mr. Lebrun.

Sitting in front of his desk, Mr. Lebrun is writing letters. By chance, that morning Julie is near her father when the maid brings the letter. Ordinarily, Julie gets up at 10:30 in the morning.

Cindy Decoding Aloud

Cindy: (She examines the illustration.) In the picture, a man is sitting at a desk. He's holding a letter. A girl is standing in front of him. (She reads the title.) *Le Prix des Pigeons.* Something of pigeons; well . . . there's the Grand Prix (car race), so maybe this is prize; The Prize of the Pigeons. At eight hours . . . at eight o'clock in the morning . . . something entered the house . . . on the Meslay Street in Paris. (She points to the side-gloss.) He left a letter . . . for *Mlle. Lebrun.* I missed only one word. I can guess what it is. I can get it from the context. It's mailman.

Who is this *Mlle. Lebrun* . . . and what is in the letter? *Mlle. Lebrun* is a large man . . . (Chuckle) It can't be man . . . it must be woman; no, *femme* is woman and *homme* is man; (Pause) then that's not *Mlle.*; it's *Monsieur;* it's *Monsieur Lebrun* is a large man who is forty years old and who has a small fortune. (Pause) He has a woman and he has a girl.

When the something of Mr. Lebrun . . . something to go shopping, she discovered the letter. The only word I can think of is descends. When something of Mr. Lebrun descends to go shopping, she discovers the letter. I'll read the next sentence to see if I can get *bonne.* She something quickly and gave it to Mr. Lebrun. (Pause) Guess I'll have to

14. Helstrom and Metz, p. 327.

look up *bonne* and *montée*. She turns to the glossary. Maid. (Pause) To go up. I've got it. When Mr. Lebrun's maid came down to go shopping, she discovered the letter. She went up quickly and gave it to Mr. Lebrun.

Something . . . in front of his desk. (She points to the illustration.) It must be sitting. Mr. Lebrun writes a letter. (She points to the side gloss.) By chance, that morning Julie is with her father when the maid brings the letter. Ordinarily, Julie something at ten hours and a half . . . at half-past ten . . . maybe it's come downstairs at 10:30.

Analysis. Cindy's decoding behavior improved considerably during the remedial sessions. Before remediation, Cindy translated word-by-word and forgot the meaning of words and phrases as soon as she decoded them. She did not understand the necessity of remembering meanings. She looked at the activity as essentially a mechanistic exchange of labels from one language to another.

The remedial sessions produced two changes with regard to remembering words: (1) Cindy came to appreciate the importance of remembering meanings, and (2) she in fact remembered the meanings. It is worth noting that (1) and (2) are logically independent of each other, for there is much that we do remember that we do not deem in fact important to remember, and, of course, there is much we deem important to remember that we in fact cannot remember.

Though there are perhaps many ways of getting people to remember things, e.g., threatening them with poor grades, it is a consoling empirical finding to realize that in this case the rational activity of having Cindy explore the skillful learner's strategies is what appeared to account for the success.

In addition to remembering the meanings of words, the inductive technique of teaching reading strategies produced other positive effects. Cindy now uses many new information sources, e.g., the title, illustration, side gloss, glossary and her knowledge of the world. Indeed, Cindy was so successful in acquiring skillful strategies that she would now be classified as a contextual guesser.

Although the inductive technique of teaching reading strategies was successful in the categories just described, there are a few areas in which Cindy showed little improvement. Even after instruction, she did not: (1) identify the grammatical function of words and use the information to decode unfamiliar words; (2) identify and skip unessential words, or (3) change the form of words, e.g., verbs, before looking them up in a glossary. It is interesting to note that all three strategies are related to grammar sensitivity. Further research with this approach is necessary before we can understand what the variables are which account for the fact that Cindy did not acquire these strategies.

On several occasions, I asked Cindy if she thought she could begin to attach meaning directly in the second language. At times, she did not answer the question; at other times, she answered: "Not yet." Finally, during the seventh session, she said she thought she could keep some phrases in French. We therefore used the protocols of a translator who kept some phrases in French during the last session. Although the study

ended before we had time to assess the extent to which Cindy could adopt this approach, there is some evidence to indicate that she began to keep easy, familiar phrases in French.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CLASSROOM

We have seen how the inductive technique of teaching reading strategies has been very successful in encouraging a problem-solving orientation in language translation and the initial stages of a nontranslating approach to reading. To the extent that we are concerned with this methodology, not only as a research tool but as a strategy to be used by classroom teachers as well, it may be necessary to modify it so that it is appropriate for teachers who themselves may have a variety of teaching and learning styles.

New Responses to Old Problems. Many responses we make to students tend to encourage inefficient reading strategies. The following examples illustrate how we can change these responses so that we encourage skillful reading behavior. (1) Rather than respond to the often-heard query "What does such-and-such a word mean?" by giving the meaning of the word or telling the student to look it up, we can say: "Can you guess its meaning from the remaining words in the sentence?" or "Can you understand the sentence without it?" (2) Rather than correct an illogical guess, we can say: "Does that word make sense in the sentence?" "What word would fit better?" (3) Rather than tell a student who cannot find a verb in the glossary to look again, we can say: "What kind of word is it?" "What is the infinitive?" Responses like these promote the acquisition and use of skills students need to construct meaning efficiently.

Inductive Techniques of Teaching Reading Strategies. The inductive technique used with Cindy can be adapted to classroom use.

(1) During classtime traditionally spent reading aloud, silently, and answering questions, the teacher can work with small groups of students, helping them to discover their reading strategies and to identify more skillful strategies. The models can be taped models or protocols of contextual guessers. While members of the first group practice their 'list' of strategies, the teacher can work with another group. This process can continue until each student has a list of strategies. The teacher can meet with each group again to see how much progress has been made in extracting meaning from a text. The only difference between this approach and the one used with Cindy is that the teacher is working with students in small groups instead of individually.

(2) The inductive technique can also be used with a large group (full class). Several student-volunteers can decode an assigned task aloud. As they decode aloud, their classmates can observe and record their strategies. After each decoding segment, 'readers' can be asked to analyze their strategies, and their peers can share their observations with the 'readers.' Strategies of several model students (the models can be protocols of contextual guessers obtained before the class session) can then be analyzed and each reader can be asked to contrast individual strategies with those of the model(s) and to list the differences. The teacher can divide a reading passage into brief segments and ask students, "What do you do as you read this segment?" "What does the model do?" Each student can make a list of strategies similar to Cindy's list. Students can continue this process in groups differing in structure: 'independent' students can work

in small groups without teacher supervision; 'dependent' students can work initially with the teacher and then in pairs; and 'very dependent' students can remain with the teacher during the entire session.[15]

Deductive Techniques of Teaching Reading Strategies. Deductive techniques can also be used. In level-one classes, the teacher may simply explain to students the strategies of contextual guessers to prevent them from acquiring inefficient reading strategies. The teacher might even teach students some strategies, e.g., give practice in contextual guessing in brief segments, or give instruction on common cognate indicators or common problems of word order.[16]

Adapting to Non-Cindy Styles of Learning. Cindy illustrates one type of reader. In a class of students, there will be several different types. At this stage of research on reading styles, eight types have been identified by the author: (1) A nontranslating contextual guesser; (2) a nontranslating contextual guesser who turns to translation as an aid when problems arise; (3) a translating contextual guesser who keeps some phrases in the foreign language; (4) a translating contextual guesser; (5) a translating noncontextual guesser who keeps some phrases in the foreign language; (6) a translating noncontextual guesser; (7) a translating nonguesser who keeps some phrases in the foreign language; and (8) a translating nonguesser. These types subdivide into subtypes: a translating contextual guesser might (1) translate a passage several times, the first time to get as much meaning as possible, the second (and sometimes third) time to get more precise meaning; or (2) translate a passage only once, getting as precise meaning as possible from the one reading.

Just as students have different reading styles, adaptation to their styles will no doubt also often be different. While a nontranslating contextual guesser who translates when problems arise might be used as a model for a translating contextual guesser who keeps some phrases in the foreign language, a translating contextual guesser might be a more appropriate model for a translating nonguesser. Three students who have the same reading style (for example, translating nonguesser) might wish to use three different models: a translating contextual guesser who keeps easy phrases in the foreign language, a translating contextual guesser who reads a passage several times, a translating contextual guesser who reads a passage only once.[17]

For teachers who are beginning to use this technique with their students, two types of protocols or taped models are sufficient: examples of nontranslating contextual guessers who translate when problems arise, and of translating contextual guessers who keep some segments in the foreign language. Different types of readers which have been identified can be discussed with students. As a teacher gains experience with the technique, different types of models can be used.

Who's Responsible? If we are to make effective use of information students reveal

15. The rationale for this instructional arrangement is presented in David Hunt and Edmund Sullivan, *Between Psychology and Education* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974).

16. The author is presently exploring possible ways of combining inductive and deductive instructional techniques for the classroom.

17. These are *hypothesized* adaptations. Further research will indicate which adaptations are appropriate for whom and under what conditions.

as they decode reading passages aloud, we need to change our attitude toward their mastery of very basic information and skills. If, upon discovering that our level-two students do not recognize such words as "this," "and," and "is" or know how to use a side gloss, we think to ourselves, "But they should know that!" we will lose another chance to try to find a way to design our instruction so that they can learn these things. Our self-protective stance should be replaced by a desire to find out what our students do not know, what they cannot do, and how we can help them to acquire the information and skills they need.

A Learning-Teaching View of Foreign Language Instruction

This case study underscores a fundamental shift in focus in the instructional process. A common view of instruction, which is appropriately labeled 'the teaching-learning process,' focuses upon the teaching act and views learning as adapting to that act. An alternate view of instruction (the view implemented with Cindy), which we may label 'the learning-teaching process,' focuses upon the learning act and views teaching as adapting to learning.

The chief focus in the learning-teaching process is the *learning path* (learning strategy) which a student takes in performing an instructional task. By mapping the learning paths of individual students with a particular task, a teacher obtains information needed to make an important instructional decision: the learning task is appropriate—it does elicit intended learnings—and classtime can be spent analyzing how some learning paths lead to the goal (such as reading or writing proficiency) while other learning paths lead away from the same goal; or the learning task is inappropriate—it does not elicit intended learnings—and, therefore, should be either modified or eliminated from the curriculum.

ASSUMPTIONS

What assumptions do we normally hold with respect to the student in the teaching of foreign languages? Three prominent ones are:

(1) To learn a foreign language, students must master content. Our primary focus is upon verbs, direct objects, vocabulary, or sentences students must master.

(2) Different scores on skill-proficiency tests reflect differences in aptitude, motivation, amount of work, and attitude.

(3) When things go awry, that is, when students obtain low test scores, we attribute the low scores to an insufficient amount of work (time on task), and we tell them to study harder.

What other options are there? A learning-teaching view of foreign language instruction holds the following assumptions:

(1) Strategies students use with foreign language tasks are as important as the content of the tasks and, in many cases, even more so.

(2) While many factors contribute to the difference between students' scores —aptitude, motivation, amount of work, attitude—some of the difference is due to their different strategies.

(3) Low test scores are often due, at least in part, to inefficient strategies. Simply telling some students to study harder results in their repeated use of the same inefficient strategies.

(4) The strategies of skillful foreign language learners can provide a basis for remediation of the strategies of unskillful learners.

(5) A student's global strategy (or style) consists of component strategies. Components can be discarded and others acquired to form a new global strategy (reading or composing strategy), and the new global strategy will lead to a higher score on an alternate form of an initially administered proficiency test.

A PROCEDURE FOR IDENTIFYING LEARNING STYLES

Despite their central role in the learning process, little information is presently available concerning strategies second language learners use with tasks intended to develop their proficiency in the basic skills. One way to obtain this information is to interview students and ask them to 'think aloud' as they perform foreign language tasks.

The objective of each interview is to obtain valid (both internally and externally) and reliable descriptions of a student's strategies with specific learning tasks. The internal validity of a description is the extent to which there is consistency between what students *say* they do in completing a task during an interview and what they *actually* do.

Two sets of factors affect the internal validity of a description: (1) intrapersonal variables (such as a student's understanding of the task, or a student's motivation or ability to self-report), and (2) intrasituational variables (such as a teacher's introduction, the amount of practice given the student, and the kinds of questions asked). A highly motivated student who immediately understands the task and who self-reports easily will provide a more valid description of a strategy with a task than an uninterested student who is uncertain what self-reporting involves or wh has little ability to self-report. Similarly, a clear introduction, sufficient practice, and nondirective questions will elicit a more valid description from a student than a vague introduction, insufficient practice, and directive questions.

Since a teacher cannot *directly* control intrapersonal variables, he or she must control intrasituational variables to increase the validity of a student's description. Moreover, by controlling the latter factors we can *indirectly* influence the former.

The external validity of a description is the extent to which the description provided during the interview corresponds to what the student habitually does in performing the task. The same categories of factors that influence the internal validity of a description influence its external validity: (1) intrapersonal variables (such as nervousness or influenceability), and (2) intrasituational variables (such as teacher expectation or task format). Since a teacher cannot *directly* control intrapersonal variables, he or she must control intrasituational variables to increase the external validity of students' descriptions.

The reliability of a description is its dependability, repeatability, stability, and consistency. Once again, both intrapersonal variables (such as fatigue or motivation) and intrasituational variables (such as noise or peer pressure) can increase or diminish the reliability of students' strategy descriptions.

We need valid, reliable, strategy descriptions because of what we intend to do with the information: evaluate tasks and classify strategies as skillful or unskillful. Inaccurate descriptions would lead to erroneous assessment of tasks, mislabeling of strategies, and encouragement for students to acquire techniques that will not help them to attain increased proficiencies in the basic skills.

For the interviewing procedure to be a useful technique, it was necessary to discover *general* principles teachers can use with *many* learning tasks. Thus, interviewing principles were developed by the author with two tasks simultaneously: reading-grammar and reading tasks. A reading-grammar task is a learning task which attempts to elicit two kinds of operations from the learner: attention to grammatical points and processing of the meaning of complete sentences. Each reading-grammar task is comprised of a series of component tasks which are related by one or more grammatical rules. These particular tasks were selected because of the facility with which students self-report with the tasks. The following principles would be useful to teachers talking to students about their strategies. It is important to emphasize that these principles can help teachers to identify students' strategies not only with reading and grammar tasks but with many learning tasks, and that they can be used with students at all levels of instruction (elementary, intermediate, and advanced).

(1) Begin each interview with a practice session. The length of the session will depend chiefly upon two factors: the student's ability to self-report and the type of learning task used to elicit the student's strategies. Students who immediately understand what they are being asked to do and who are talkative will require fewer practice tasks than students who have difficulty understanding the task and who are more taciturn. (Often, students who have difficulty self-reporting in individual interviews self-report easily in a classroom setting where their peers model the self-report activity.) Most students require more practice with reading tasks than they do with reading-grammar tasks. For practice, the teacher should select tasks that are similar to the actual tasks he or she intends to use to elicit students' strategies. As an introduction, the teacher might say: "I'd like you to perform this task and to tell me what you are doing as you perform it. Do what you would ordinarily do if you were completing the task in class or at home." All of the major characteristics of a student's strategy should be apparent during the practice session, that is, the student's description should be *complete*. If students understand what they are being asked to do and have had sufficient practice self-reporting, they should provide more valid and reliable descriptions of their strategies than if they are uncertain about what they are being asked to do and have had little or no prior practice self-reporting.

(2) Distinguish between an incomplete and a complete description of a strategy. There are two kinds of operations with reading-grammar tasks: (1) what a student does to perform the grammar operations, and (2) what a student does with the words in the task sentences. Reading tasks can also be viewed as consisting of two types of operations: (1) what a student does in reading in a relatively uninterrupted manner (this activity might be called the student's 'non-stop' reading behavior or 'main-meaning line'), and (2) what a student does upon encountering an unfamiliar word or phrase (this activity might be called the student's 'interrupted' reading behavior or 'word-solving strategies'). It is important to obtain a description of *both* categories of response. Because an incomplete account would reveal only a portion of what a student does with

a task and because multiple accounts might reveal *different* portions of a strategy, an incomplete description would be less valid and reliable than a complete description.

(3) There are two types of self-report: introspection and retrospection. Select the type that best elicits strategy descriptions which satisfy the criteria for self-report data (validity and reliability). A student who 'thinks aloud' in performing a task is introspecting; one who describes the strategy with a task only after completing it is retrospecting. Many students provide complete retrospective descriptions of their strategies with reading-grammar tasks. A combination of both approaches with reading-grammar tasks elicits interesting information from many students. With reading tasks, however, students' retrospective descriptions are often incomplete. The author suggests the following procedures with reading tasks: if a student translates in reading, elicit an introspective account of the reading strategies used. If a student generally does not translate, use a combination of approaches. First, elicit an introspective account and then ask for retrospective completion of the description. During the retrospective segment, a student often reveals sections of the text which were translated.

(4) Ask *indirect* rather than *direct* questions. Direct questions, such as "Do you disregard many words in the task sentences?" (with reading-grammar tasks) or "Do you translate?" (with reading tasks) can influence a student's answer and force it into a particular direction. For example, a student might answer "yes" to both questions simply because it is easier than trying to perceive the actual performance, or the student might answer "no" to both questions because they are found to be intimidating: the student might feel that the teacher expects assignment of meaning to reading-grammar-task sentences or that reading without translating is expected. An interviewer should obtain the information by a more indirect approach: one can simply observe whether the student pays no attention to many words in reading-grammar-task sentences or can wait for the student to provide the information *in his own words*. Often during a practice session with reading tasks, the following exchange occurs with a student who translates:

Student: Do you want me to translate?
Interviewer: Do you usually translate?
Student: Yes.
Interviewer: Do what you usually do.

When information is obtained in this manner, the interviewer can have greater confidence that it reflects what the student actually does with the task. Indirect questions should elicit more valid strategy descriptions from students than direct questions, since indirect questions should elicit descriptions which reflect students' own perceptions of what they do with tasks rather than an interviewer's perception of what they do with them.

(5) Emphasize that the prime concern is not the correctness of the answer (or reading response) but rather the steps students go through to arrive at the answer (or meaning of a sentence). Teachers and students are so attuned to concentrating on answers (products) that it may initially require extra effort to attend to and perceive the series of steps (process) that precedes the answer. To the student's query: "Is it right?" the response "We are not concerned with that now" is preferable to "yes" or "no," since the latter imply that an evaluation has been made. (This principle can be

modified for students who have a low tolerance for ambiguity.)

(6) Do not 'teach' during an interview. This principle is related to the preceding one. If we are not primarily concerned with the accuracy of a student's responses, then we should also not be concerned with correcting mistakes. A teacher may, at times, find it difficult to refrain from helping a struggling student, but should remember that the purpose of an interview is to perceive a student's strategies with tasks and that the student's strategies will be less apparent if the teacher intervenes.

(7) Determine the operations that underlie the particular terms students use to describe strategies. When students say that they 'read' reading-grammar-task sentences, they do not necessarily mean that they read them for meaning; they may only sound or scan the words in the task sentences. Similarly, when they say they 'sound' words as they read, they may merely sound the words, or they may simultaneously assign meaning to them either in the native or in the second language. If both the interviewer and students assign the same meaning to words and phrases students use to describe strategies, the strategy descriptions will be more valid and reliable than if they assign different meanings to the same words and phrases. Assigning the same meaning would also prevent teachers from erroneously assessing tasks and mislabeling strategies.

(8) As well as obtaining strategy descriptions from students, try to elicit information concerning the following factors:

(a) The student's attitude toward the task;

(b) The student's self-concept as a reader, a composer, etc.;

(c) The student's 'mini-theory' of second language learning, its component assumptions and accompanying reasons, such as *why* a translating approach is used and *why* many words are ignored in reading-grammar tasks;[18]

(d) The effect the learning task may have upon the student. For example, is discrepancy between what the student thinks is expected and actual performance troublesome to the student?

(9) Follow the learner and go where he or she leads you. Significant information is often obtained when a student is allowed to digress and to discuss some aspect of learning that may initially appear to be unrelated to the task at hand. By pursuing a student-initiated topic, a teacher may not only gain insight into the idiosyncratic features of a student's strategy but may also experience a gratifying encounter in which the teacher and student roles seem to melt into two people communicating directly.

A CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM FOR SELF-REPORT DATA

In the learning-teaching process, the learner is viewed as an active, contributing agent in his own learning. What is learned, therefore, with any instructional task depends, in large measure, upon specific activities engaged in by the learner. These activities, called learning strategies (what Ernst Rothkopf[19] no doubt would label 'mathemagenic behaviors') are considered discrete, concrete phenomena that can be

18. For a discussion of the concept of 'mini-theory,' see Carol Hosenfeld, "Students' Mini-Theories' of Second Language Learning," *Language Association Bulletin*, 29, ii (1978), 1, 3.

19. "The Concept of Mathemagenic Activities," *Review of Educational Research*, 40 (1970), 325-36.

described, analyzed, compared, and categorized.

The information obtained from a group of students about their learning strategies is in the form of protocols, which are transcriptions of recorded interviews. It is necessary to analyze the protocols and to arrange the information in some meaningful way. There are two fundamentally different ways to analyze protocols: subject them to a quantitative or a qualitative analysis. The purpose of both analyses is the same: to develop a classification system which adequately summarizes the specific information obtained from a group of students. In a quantitative analysis, a teacher would ask: "What categories would subsume *every* response made by the group of students?" Since the question asks essentially "How are students' responses alike?" categories are created along a dimension of *similarity* instead of *difference*. In a qualitative analysis, on the other hand, a teacher would ask: "What categories would distinguish between the responses of skillful and unskillful students?" Since the question asks "How do the responses of the two groups differ?" categories are created along a dimension of *difference* instead of *similarity*. If the purpose of an inquiry is to discover differences between strategies of skillful and unskillful students, it would seem inherently logical to develop categories along a dimension of *difference* rather than *similarity*.

While the categories of a classification system will be determined by the self-report data obtained from a specific group of students, it would be useful to have a prototype classification system to facilitate analysis and organization of the data. If we use the two related concepts of 'ability' and 'strategy,' we might be able to develop a prototype schema. To the question, "How do skillful and unskillful students differ?" one would respond, "They differ in their *ability* to perform a task." Any ability can be analyzed into component abilities, and these components might logically comprise the categories of the classification system. In the present conceptualization, any ability is viewed as the result of specific activities engaged in by the learner: a global ability is the result of a global strategy (reading or composing style); component abilities result from component strategies. To the question, "How do skillful and unskillful strategies differ?" one would respond, "They differ in their ability to achieve their purpose." This response underscores a characteristic of all strategies (global and component; efficient and inefficient): that they have purpose. It also suggests an arrangement of the component strategies in a schema of the classification system. Strategies with a similar purpose and different results can be placed parallel. For example, in the reading skill, the skillful strategy of transforming a verb before looking for its meaning in the glossary would be placed parallel to the unskillful strategy of looking for the meaning of a verb in the same form in which it appears in the text. Strategies unique to either group of students would appear alone in each row. An example of an unskillful reading strategy with no counterpart would be reading the same sentence many times.

This classification system is outlined in Table 1. One must remember that this is a theoretical formulation and will need to be validated empirically; validation will either confirm the schema, reject it, or suggest modifications.

The advantages of the classification become apparent when inquiry on learning strategies is continued in the classroom: the component-strategy statements will correspond to the strategies students self-report in the think-aloud activities. The strategy-selection process (a process of skill development) will correspond to the arrangement of

the component strategies in the schema: students will discard the unskillful and acquire the skillful strategies. (The classification system, thus, provides the teacher with prior knowledge of the process—information needed to monitor it.) Since most students will be in the middle of the continuum—from skillful to unskillful—and their strategy will be a composite of efficient and inefficient strategies, the schema provides a means of distinguishing between the two types of strategies.

TABLE 1

A Prototype Classification System for Self-Report Data and Schema for Skill Development in the Learning-Teaching Process

Ability to Read
Reading Strategy

I. Component Ability	
Skillful	Unskillful
component strategy*	component strategy
component strategy	component strategy
component strategy	component strategy
component strategy**	
	component strategy
II. Component Ability	
III. Component Ability	
IV. Component Ability	

* Parallel strategies have a similar purpose and different results
** Single strategies are unique to one group

RESEARCH ON THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNER: NEW DIRECTIONS

A concern with what students do as they try to learn something has been a recurring theme of research in English education during the past three-quarters of a century. Since the work of Edmund Huey[20] and of I. A. Richards[21] in the 1920's, numerous investigators have explored the process by which students interpret non-imaginative literature[22] and imaginative literature.[23] Publication of Janet Emig's study in 1971

20. *The Psychology and Pedagogy of Reading* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1968). Original publication, 1908.

21. *Practical Criticism: A Study of Literary Judgment* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929).

22. Ruth Strang, *Explorations in Reading Patterns* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942); Emiliza Swain, "Unconscious Thought Processes Used in the Interpretation of Reading Materials" (Diss., University of Chicago, 1953); Josephine A. Piekarz, "Getting Meaning from Reading," *Elementary School Journal*, 56, (1956), 303-09; Josephine A. Piekarz, "Individual Differences in Interpretive Responses in Reading" (Diss., University of Chicago, 1954); Marion Jenkinson, "Selected Processes and Difficulties of Reading Comprehension" (Diss., University of Chicago, 1957); Anne O. Stemmler, "Reading of Highly Creative Versus Highly Intelligent Secondary Students" (Diss., University of Chicago, 1966).

23. Mildred Letton, "Individual Differences in Interpretive Responses in Reading Poetry at the Ninth-Grade Level" (Diss., University of Chicago, 1958); James R. Squire, *The Responses of Adolescents While*

initiated a new area for research: the composing process.[24] Numerous studies have subsequently investigated the processes that occur when students seek to write.[25]

If one were to specify a time and place where concern for learning processes ceased to be merely the concern of individual researchers in English education and became the concern of an entire research community, it would no doubt be the 1972 Minnesota NCTE Seminar on Research in English Education. One of the 'happenings' of this landmark conference, where participants experienced "a scrambling of basic assumptions regarding research in English education,"[26] was a growing concensus that the collective energies of researchers in English education should be directed toward understanding *learning* processes instead of *teaching* processes. Thus, while in educational research (including foreign language education) one witnessed an increasing use and the eventual hegemony of an experimental approach to the solution of classroom problems, a small segment of the educational research community—research in the teaching of English—initiated new research directions: declaring a moratorium on experimental research, researchers in English education collectively began to explore the basic processes of reading and composing. During the past six years, research on these basic processes has increased at an exponential rate. Much of the activity is occurring at the State University of New York at Buffalo, where conferences are devoted to the topic of composing,[27] and where faculty and students explore the composing process[28] and the dynamics of students' responses to a literary work.[29]

What is needed is a similar collective effort on the part of researchers in foreign

Reading Four Short Stories, NCTE Research Report, No. 2 (Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1964), Charlotte D. Rogers, "Individual Differences in Interpretive Responses to Reading the Short Story at the Eleventh-Grade Level" (Diss., University of Arizona, 1965); James R. Wilson, *Responses of College Freshmen to Three Novels*, NCTE Research Report, No. 7 (Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1966); William P. Morris, "Unstructured Oral Responses of Experienced Readers to a Given Poem" (Diss., Indiana University, 1970).

24. *The Composing Processes of Twelfth Graders*, NCTE Research Report, No. 13 (Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1971).

25. Donald Graves, "Children's Writing: Research Directions and Hypotheses Based Upon an Examination of the Writing Processes of Seven-Year-Old Children" (Diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1973); Terry Mischel, "A Case Study of a Twelfth-Grade Writer," *Research in the Teaching of English*, 8 (1974), 303-14; Anne Z. Bodkin, "Differences Observed in Writing Between Boys and Girls" (Diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1976).

26. Peter S. Rosenbaum, "The New Research," *Research in the Teaching of English*, 7 (1973), 145.

27. Walter T. Petty and Patrick J. Finn, eds., *The Writing Processes of Students*, Conference Report, No. 1 (Buffalo: State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975); Charles Cooper and Lee Odell, *Researching Composing: Points of Departure* (Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1978).

28. Lee Odell, "Measuring Changes in Student Use of Intellectual Strategies as One Dimension of Measuring Growth in Writing," in *Evaluating Writing: Describing, Measuring, Judging*, ed. Charles Cooper and Lee Odell (Urbana, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1977); Ann Matsurhashi, "A Video Time-Monitored Observational Study: The Transcribing Behaviors and Composing Processes of Four Competent High School Writers" Diss., State Univ. of New York at Buffalo, in progress).

29. Anthony B. Petrosky, "Individual and Group Responses of Fourteen- and Fifteen-Year-Olds to Short Stories, Novels, Poems, and Thematic Apperception Tests: Case Studies Based on Piagetian Genetic Epistemology and Freudian Psychoanalytic Ego Psychology" (Diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1974); Lee Odell and Charles Cooper, "Describing Responses to Works of Fiction," *Research in the Teaching of English*, 10 (1976), 203-25.

language education to explore the basic processes involved in second language acquisition. Inquiry on learning processes should begin with an examination of research in English education. Although the findings in second language learning will be different from those in the native language, we have much to learn from their research: their commitment to learning processes, their techniques of eliciting self-report data, and their numerous insights into what students do with tasks similar to those found in foreign language classrooms—the reading of essays, poems, short stories, and novels.

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The Second Language Teacher: Reconciling the Vision with the Reality

Introduction

In voting booths, on national television, and in our legislatures, we who call ourselves teachers have, in one way or another, been given no-confidence votes. The clamor over why Johnny does not seem able to do much of anything has led to broad-stroke indictments of all educators. Yet, any one of us could be haunted by thoughts that do not reconcile easily with the indictments and that lead us to feel a mixture of disillusionment and bitterness.

> The name of my school is _____ . It has been here quite a long time—long enough that it has an air of permanence. It seems there will be a school by this name for a long time into the future. But when I, a teacher, put on my coat and pick up my briefcase to leave, the school leaves with me. . . . It does not have any reality when I and my colleagues have gone from its address. . . . In the here and now, it no longer exists. That is why I don't understand why everyone wants to make me a scapegoat for society's failures rather than help me. . . .

The reality today does not constitute a particularly pleasant moment in the history of American education. Even the vision of a better way is confused. Most of us can vaguely envision an idealized curriculum in an idealized school with real—but cooperative—students. The vision is somewhat clouded, however, by various perceptions, distortions, blind spots, and biases. The murkiness in our vision is evidenced by the difficulty most of us have in describing in any detail an ideal language program (materials, facilities, time schedule, classroom activity, etc.). We (who are highly verbal people) can find ourselves sitting with a pen that will not write on a pad that refuses to be written on, whenever we are asked to delineate our ideal situation.

Reconciling a clouded vision with a confusing and too often painful reality seems, unfortunately, not an unreasonable way to view the activity and role of the second language teacher in 1979. This view has, therefore, been chosen as a guiding theme for this extended essay about language teachers. The goal of the essay is an attempt to synthesize in a modest way some of the knowledge we have generated about second language teaching, in the hope that this synthesis will help us individually, if not collectively, reconcile the vision and the reality. Because this is an essay and not a review of research, it is minimally documented. It begins broadly and ends more specifically.

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The Milieu in Which We Work

Only a few years ago, discussions among teachers at professional meetings usually focused upon methodology and broad issues facing the profession. Now, however, there is much more concern for and discussion of the adversity a teacher faces in virtually all dimensions of his or her activity. The traditional view of teaching as a career, though not totally accurate, has been that it is a relatively 'easy' profession. To an outsider, the hours appeared reasonable, the work 'clean' and pleasant, and the vacation schedule attractive. Above all, it was work that was more up-lifting than anxiety-infused and stressful. No one who has had recent, direct contact with the teaching-learning process would view it in these warm, rosy terms, however. Indeed, one might easily modify the perennial stories of conversations between a person leaving this life for a new life in a hereafter and a gatekeeper (such as a St. Peter). St. Peter can readily be imagined saying, with a mixture of disbelief and awe, "You've been a teacher during the late 1970's . . . and of all things a teacher of a foreign language. . . . Come right in. You've done more than your share of penance already."

In far too many cases, even teachers themselves appear only as enthusiastic or 'committed' as they must be in order to survive and return another year—or day! In the extreme, some teachers conclude that, except for a few loyal students, no one likes them. This view is certainly not that held by all teachers, and it should be recognized that we all tend to view each present moment as special in all of history. (That particularly seems the inclination when we are treating a contemporary topic.) This moment may not, of course, be special in the eyes of some observers; nevertheless, it is very easy to document the unprecedented adversity faced by today's teachers, in general, and second language teachers, in particular.

Some of the pressures on teachers are not new; they are an inherent part of the teacher role. Philip Jackson, for example, documented more than a decade ago the psychological vigor required for moment-to-moment classroom activity.[1] He found that the average teacher typically changes the focus of his or her concern about 1,000 times daily—with many of the fixations of attention lasting only a few seconds and nearly all lasting less than a minute. Most language teachers would argue that the frequency is even greater in a second language course than in most other subject-matter areas and is, therefore, greater than the average of 1,000. The parallels between the conscientious teacher's activity and the widely publicized stress of air-traffic controllers may not be trivial. Some have argued that the type and intensity of activity in classrooms lead teachers to exhibit psychological symptoms that have a resemblance to those of soldiers in combat. (In Franklin County, Ohio, for example, the percentage of teachers who are or have been divorced is second as a profession only to psychiatrists.)

Teachers at all levels have also lost their freedom to move to new positions (though many who are leaving education claim they would do so anyway, even if other teaching positions were available). They are less constrained by an oversupply of teachers than

1. "The Way Teaching Is," in *The Way Teaching Is* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1966).

they are by the unwillingness of many school systems to hire an experienced and, therefore, more expensive instructor. Likewise, at the college level, most institutions seek to employ a new assistant professor (or even a non-tenurable lecturer) rather than an established senior-faculty member. Thus, although statistics always lag behind the reality they summarize, many observers believe that the growing exodus of teachers and the early retirement of others diminish claims of teacher surpluses and highlight stresses to which teachers are being subjected. This may represent an acceleration of the already documented trend of recent years: if we randomly select three beginning teachers, we know that one of them will leave the profession by the start of the next year, and another will be gone before six more years pass.[2] Even in better times, only one remained by the seventh year.

Several of the pressures on today's teachers are more easily documented. They have manifestations that are readily observable and countable. They are sometimes even a matter of physical safety. A National Institute of Education report[3] recently revealed that in the United States 5,200 secondary school teachers are physically attacked each month, of whom approximately 1,000 require medical treatment. Each month 6,000 teachers are robbed at school. Students are likewise victims: 232,000 are attacked in a typical month, and 112,000 are robbed. Such an atmosphere creates unremitting stress.

Uncertainties further result from disruptions due to desegregation procedures, population shifts and decline, and especially what appears to be a developing adversary relationship between teachers and the public at large. In the much publicized CBS news special of August 1978, "Is Anyone Out There Learning?" teachers were in many instances referred to in non-complimentary ways. It was clear that some of the public perceived many of today's teachers as functioning via the directive, "Sit there and be quiet, and you'll get a good grade." The CBS poll indicated only one-fourth of the public felt that teachers were better today than in the past, while more than a third believed they were worse. It should be noted that the teachers of a generation ago received far less professional training (and less total education). The program highlighted in many ways the idea that "teachers don't work as hard today as they used to." Whatever the validity of the assertion, it is important to note that the mere existence of this hostile attitude is a causal factor influencing in many subtle ways the educational process. It is a platitude, but it must still be said: The need for the finest teaching we can provide is acute in 1979. For the good of society, we cannot permit ourselves to say with hostility, "They are getting the education they deserve, no more."

The way in which many instructors view their students is reason for serious concern. Too often, students are seen as inert lumps at best, trouble-makers at worst. In any event, they are clearly adversaries. Perceptions shape behavior in remarkable ways, and students respond in like manner in what becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The indictments of teachers and their work are widespread and vigorous. In election

2. Jonathon H. Mark and Barry D. Anderson, "Teacher Survival Rates—A Current Look," *American Educational Research Journal*, 15 (1978), 379-83.

3. "Violent Schools—Safe Schools," cited in *Phi Delta Kappan*, 59 (1978), 442.

after election, the public is voting against funding for education. From California's Proposition 13 to school-operating levies in the smallest rural districts, voters are shouting loudly that they want education to cost less (but be better!). Analysts have scrutinized the situation and come to the following kinds of conclusions:

> For perhaps 150 years there has been an increasing tendency for schools to take over functions once reserved for . . . the family, church, and community. . . . We seem to be at a moment of indecision and confusion concerning the relation of the child and the parent to the public schools.[4]
>
> The American courtship with its educational system is turning increasingly sour, but some of the remedies now being proposed seem as ill-advised and counterproductive as anything that has affected our schools and colleges in recent memory. . . . National underachievement exists. But it will hardly be cured by this new national paranoia. A mindless pursuit of the basics may leave us with an equally pernicious neglect of such 'nonbasics' as foreign languages, the social and natural sciences, and, yes, the humanities.[5]
>
> The public mood is sour, cynical, and self-regarding. No wonder the best-seller lists are crammed with celebrations of self and invitations to stamp on the faces of the world. . . . Unless and until substantial shifts in American life and American expectations from education unexpectedly occur, the adjective of choice is 'grim.'[6]
>
> Teaching . . . is the process of bringing a person, insofar as possible, to see: to see oneself as a human being; to see how human beings are essentially related to one another in an order of value; to see how each of us is an irreplaceable part of the universe in which we live, not because of what we do but of what we are; to see how if one human suffers, we all suffer; to see how if earth is irreplaceably harmed, we are all harmed; to see organic unity in material multiplicity.[7]

It is ironic and tragic that Silberman's scathing 1970 attack upon schools can now be reinterpreted with the teacher as the victim: "It is not possible to spend any prolonged period visiting public school classrooms without being appalled by the mutilation visible everywhere—mutilation of spontaneity, of joy of learning, of pleasure in creating, of sense of self."[8] In Silberman's subsequent assertions, one might simply reverse the status of students and educators (as done below in brackets) when he claims that, because citizens "take the schools so much for granted, they fail to appreciate what grim, joyless places most American schools are, how oppressive and petty are the rules by which they are governed, how intellectually sterile and aesthetically barren the atmosphere, what an appalling lack of civility obtains on the part of [students], what contempt they unconsciously display for [teachers] as [teachers]."[9]

There is no question that a portrait of schools as uniformly dismal and teachers as incompetent or uncaring would be an exaggeration. Teachers are at least as diverse as

4. Jerry Debenham and Michael J. Parsons, "The Future of Schools and Families: Three Scenarios and a Recommendation," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 59 (1978), 443.

5. George W. Bonham, "The Politics of Minimalcy," *Change*, 9, xi (1977), 12-13.

6. Robert Lekachman, "Proposition 13 and the New Conservatism," *Change*, 10, viii (1978), 22-27.

7. Frank R. Harrison III, "The Humanistic Lessons of Solzhenitsyn and Proposition 13," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 24 July 1978, p. 32.

8. Charles Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom* (New York: Random House, 1970).

9. Ibid.

any other group in all dimensions of attitudes, competence, and behavior. Nevertheless, the widespread disillusionment with the work of many educators is real and significant. Teachers may be 'worse' than ever before; they may be 'better.' They may have become fatigued, disenchanted, or embittered by inadequate salaries, unmotivated students, parents more ready to sue than help, and excessively large classes. They may include larger numbers of a new 'breed' of teachers whose priorities deemphasize commitment and accentuate self-survival. (Most likely there is partial truth in all of these statements, plus many similar observations we could make.) What is significant is the fact that public attitudes toward education are a determinant of our own perceptions and of our day-to-day activity as language teachers. We are shaped in many ways by perceptions—both those of others and those we hold of ourselves.

It is not difficult in 1979, moreover, to convince language teachers that they are being subjected to special pressures and particularly negative attitudes—above and beyond the hostility to our educational enterprise in general. The enrollment declines of an entire decade carry clear messages. Likewise, in the 1978 Gallup Education Poll,[10] knowing a foreign language was ranked lowest in importance among several skills for students not going to college, though it was ironically ranked high among subjects people wish they had studied. (The explanation may simply be that so few have studied one!) The public perception is, therefore, intensified by language teachers' own perceptions of their special vulnerability. It is difficult to emphasize 'loudly' enough in writing the consequences and effects of such perceptions. We come to be what we see ourselves being, and virtually every moment's behavior day after day is potentially modified by these perceptions. It may well be that there is good reason for some teachers to feel vulnerable; nevertheless, it is the perception—right, wrong, or partly accurate—that is influencing behavior.

Examples of the effects of these perceptions are not difficult to find. One does not have to search far to find instructors who change their behavior to 'keep students happy' and, therefore, enrolled. Frequently, they then become bothered by guilt and uncertain of their own values, especially when they hear themselves endorsing a return to higher standards and more rigorous education. Likewise, one can also find a reactionary attitude: "Meet my standards or get out." Too often we end up with a 'hidden-agenda' goal of 'getting the students out.' One also finds instructors making decisions to accept three levels in the same classroom, to eliminate out-of-class assignments, or to accept the worst classrooms in the facility. (It is amazing how many language classrooms are located near music or band rooms!) Perhaps the saddest phenomenon of all is the instructor who has decided that nothing really matters; his or her work is part of a failing enterprise. Such teachers sometimes go through the motions of 'teaching,' sometimes, barely so.

The vision of a better profession requires, therefore, considerable attention to understanding the ways in which we are seen—especially by ourselves. To some, the 'psychoanalysis of a profession' is a preposterous idea. There is no denying, however, that each of us can come to understand better the forces around us and how we fit into

10. George H. Gallup, "The 10th Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 60 (1978), 33-45.

the larger society. We can do so by introspection, and we can do so by structured inservice effort. Perhaps it is unfortunate that we usually spend all our inservice efforts on aspects of methodology and curriculum.

Can Teachers Really Make a Difference?

One of the most perplexing contradictions in education pertains to the question of whether the instructor really makes much of a difference. The question is perplexing because it is so fundamental. It is not a novel question that we have just begun to ponder; yet, it is badly answered in most persons' minds. Ask a classroom instructor this question, and you invariably get a surprised look and a response such as "Well, of course. How could you even wonder about that?" Ask the 'average person in the street,' and you get a similar, but slightly qualified, response of "Yes, teachers *can* make a difference." Ask an educational researcher who is familiar with research on the question, and the response will be more like, "No, the instructor doesn't make much difference." He or she may add that the instructor accounts for only a small percentage of the learning variance, perhaps five to twenty percent. This is equivalent to saying that eighty to ninety-five percent of school learning is attributable to factors other than teacher behavior. It is understandable that most teachers not only disagree, but they also react with emotion. This researcher view is akin to saying, "If you put in long hours, expend great effort, and deal with frustration and abuse day after day, you will not make much more of an impact than if you only babysit."

Several factors need to be considered in resolving the contradiction—a contradiction involving sincere professionals with diametrically opposing views. Too often, such contradictory views are dismissed as a function of perspective: the teacher claiming daily experience on 'the firing line,' the researcher claiming a more dispassionate and comprehensive perspective. There is clearly a controversy among informed people about how much difference a teacher makes. First, it should be recognized that the research base is a fairly solid one—but only in light of what we *now* know. The impact of teachers has usually been assessed with conventional measurements of subject-matter learning; certainly, there may be very important outcomes that are not measured by these instruments. Secondly, this research has not been done in second language education. It is likely that in certain subject-matter areas (e.g., social studies, English as a native language) much of the learning occurs outside teacher influence, indeed, completely outside the educational program. In second or foreign language education, however, little is learned simply by living (except in a bilingual community). By the same token, there is more potential for causing learning to occur. Thus, it seems reasonable to single out our area as one in which the teacher can make a difference in subject-matter learning—where the teacher's work will result in more (or less) learning than other 'versions' of the teacher's work (or versions of other teachers' work). The *amount of difference* a teacher can make in learning a language is not at all clear. We all have intuitions—or maybe it is blind faith—that the impact is substantial; nevertheless, we find students who do quite well in classrooms whose teachers are judged in-

adequate by nearly all standards. In other classes, we find less learning than we hoped for, even though the teacher is outstanding by all the usual criteria. Clearly, factors other than the teacher are accounting for the amount or quality of learning.

Another aspect of the controversy is the way in which 'teacher' and 'make a difference' are interpreted. Researchers give them very specific operational definitions abstracted from a configuration of other identifiable variables. The classroom instructor, on the other hand, quite understandably sees a thinking, feeling, flesh-and-blood, classroom leader. The researcher will, for example, abstract instructional objectives out of the teacher variable and view it as a constant. The teacher, however, includes the objectives within his or her view of what a teacher is—probably a person modifying them from moment-to-moment based on his or her knowledge, experience, and what may appear to be intuition. Thus, the way in which one defines the terms—in a narrow, precise way or a broad, experiential way—partially accounts for the confusion about teacher effects.

This particular question is a classic example of the feud between those who ascribe to 'theory' and those who focus on 'practice'—between the theologians and the parish priests, as it has been characterized. Language educators perennially and unhesitatingly call for bringing together theory and practice. That is not nearly as easy as we all want to believe. There are now only isolated instances where we can relate classroom behavior and teaching materials to a shred of theory. Furthermore, theory is only going to be developed by research. Even if we had the funding and expertise to do more research, we have well-entrenched traditions that are firm barriers to it. Research on teaching, contrary to much opinion, is in its infancy.[11] We have none to which we can point that adequately elucidates teaching activity. (A few defective studies are consciously excluded in making this statement.) This lack of research is unforgivable. Likewise, there is a strong tradition of denigrating the value of research; these attitudes border on anti-intellectualism. That is shameful.

There is an important area of teacher impact that must not be overlooked. It is a well-documented area that cannot be dismissed lightly given our current reality. There is no question about the significance of the effect of the instructor on student *attitudes,* especially attitudes toward learning the subject matter and toward the content of it. Teachers do make a difference here; they can turn students into crusaders for the study of another language, or they can quickly make them dropouts. That power entails, of course, both a great potential and a heavy responsibility. The realities of today's classroom, however, make the development of positive attitudes more difficult. Nevertheless, the only defensible posture we can take is that we must, therefore, work harder at fostering positive attitudes. It is too bad that such an exhortation sounds like a platitude to most of us.

There is a common misconception about the role of attitudes in learning. The vast majority of second language educators in the United States believe that there is a high correlation between attitudes and subject-matter learning. In other words, they believe

11. Michael J. Dunkin and Bruce J. Biddle, *The Study of Teaching* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974).

that, by and large, those students who have positive attitudes toward the learning of Spanish will develop more proficiency in Spanish than those students who have negative attitudes toward the instruction. That is simply not true at either the secondary or college level in monolingual, United States society. There are enough individual exceptions (e.g., positive attitude and low achievement, or negative attitude and high achievement) that, on the average, there is essentially no correlation. That finding can be documented by examining the intercorrelation matrices in study after study (dealing with various research questions) where both attitudes and skills are dependent variables. Teacher beliefs are generally inconsistent with that finding (even to an extreme 'don't-confuse-me-with-the-facts' stance). The lack of correlation is not replicable, moreover, in bilingual areas, most prominently in Canada.

This lack of relationship between attitudes and achievement should not be misinterpreted. In no way does it say that attitudes are unimportant. Indeed, this writer could argue for pages that a valuing of things different, foreign, or unknown is one of the most important and desirable outcomes for all of education in the last decades of the twentieth century. Positive attitudes are in most of our individual and collective value systems extremely important in and of themselves. All that the lack of correlation means is that the development of good attitudes does not necessarily cause (or is not even associated with) better language-skill development.

The Teacher Role: The Need for a Vision

If one interprets 'vision' in a very narrow sense, it is easy to build a powerful case for a need for teachers to clarify or modify their personal visions of how it is that a teacher functions day after day. The realities of today's classroom and the few insights into the second language teaching-learning process that we have generated in recent years seem to argue for a particular conceptualization of the teacher role. It is not a conceptualization that promises in any sense a 'rose garden;' it is, rather, one that recognizes the 'jungle' and is, therefore, one that a skeptical audience can too easily dismiss.

The argument, in brief, rests on the premise that our ways of seeing ourselves are determining factors that help shape what we become. We, in effect, listen to ourselves and obey ourselves. Just as the person who decides that he or she is seriously ill begins to behave like an invalid, we too become what we tell ourselves we are. Thus, the teacher who tells himself or herself that he or she is an intelligent decision-maker or hypothesizer, a professional distinguished from the nonprofessional by understanding of the teaching-learning process, will become a better teacher each day. Such a self-correcting approach builds today's skills upon yesterday's experience, which in turn was built upon all previous experience. The key to maximal success is the initial 'set' or

way one sees oneself. The full argument for this particular conceptualization of the teacher role requires beginning with an examination of recent history.

Our second language education profession has a history of encouraging teachers to be non-thinking about classroom behavior. Teacher education has always, in the final analysis, emphasized learning by imitation. Even when that emphasis is not conspicuous, a frightening number of beginning teachers unhesitatingly resort to imitating—both consciously and unconsciously—their own past instructors. This deemphasis upon thinking, analysis, and reflection was most prominent during the era of widespread emphasis upon audiolingual methodology. In many instances, teachers were told in specific terms exactly how to behave and when to behave in a particular way. The characteristics of that era leave a legacy today that has a direct relationship to the way in which we view the teaching role. It is a legacy perpetuated by today's teachers who were also teaching ten to twenty years ago. (They remain a significant proportion of the profession, because of the diminished infusion of new teachers during a decade of declining enrollment.) It is a legacy perpetuated by ultra-conservative publishing companies, whose principal criterion for publishing a new textbook is whether or not it looks sufficiently like 'successful' books of the past—successful referring only to sales figures. Perhaps most importantly, it is a legacy strengthened by the persons today responsible for both preservice and inservice teacher education—the vast majority of whom were in one way or another a part of the audiolingual phenomenon. It may well be, therefore, that a type of myopia inflicts us and makes it more difficult to move toward a different perception of the teacher role—particularly one that is in many ways antithetical to past thinking.

It should be recognized that the teacher role is an enormously complex concept—so complex that no one can fully discuss it from all points of view. If we are to come to understand it and to modify it as new knowledge is developed, we must make generalizations, and, of course, they are never going to be totally accurate for any one individual. Thus, one has to interpret characterizations of 'today's teacher' with indulgence and to recognize both the need for and the fallacy in generalizing.

Many teachers see themselves as persons with repertoires of 'good' techniques—the larger the repertoire, the better the teacher. These teachers have learned that there are only two types of techniques: those that are generally successful and those that are unsuccessful. The secret of a successful career is an unending enlargement of one's repertoire of good techniques. Planning a class is a matter of choosing from one's repertoire according to such fixed criteria as adequate variety, tempo, and popularity of the technique. This approach is somewhat analogous to planning a variety show; enough good acts will result in a good performance. One might argue that this is a defensible approach to teaching, or that there certainly was a time when it was defensible. In a less complex era when we understood the teaching-learning process less well than we now do, it is possible we may have had the best possible teachers for that moment via this approach. Surely, this approach to the teaching role is preferable to that of a hypothetical teacher who comes to a position with a fixed repertoire and who implicitly says to himself or herself, "These are the things I do. Period!"

An alternative perception of the teaching role, one that is intellectually more amenable to the dynamic, heterogeneous teaching contexts of today is that of a teacher as an hypothesizer or decision-maker. It is a view of a teacher as a thinking, choosing,

reacting, predicting person who is making decisions based upon his or her interpretation of the pertinent circumstances of the moment. The classroom can readily be viewed as an hypothesis chamber—indeed, the finest hypothesis chamber man has ever created. At each moment, the instructor is hypothesizing about the consequences of his or her decisions: What will probably happen if I do 'x' as opposed to 'y' or 'z'? Which result do I prefer? What are the probable side effects of 'x'? Is the trade-off in efficiency for the entire group worth the benefits for Johnny, Mary, Kim, and Scott? Should I do it now, or is there a better moment? The number of factors that enter into such decisions is potentially in the hundreds. We may someday look back at that number as primitively small, or we may have a new conceptualization that does not permit the counting of variables. It should be pointed out immediately that a knowledgable instructor is conscious of many variables or factors influencing his or her decisions; others are based on what is best described as intuition. It is a well-established fact that human beings can be aware of many factors while attending directly to something else. The more pertinent factors considered, the potentially better is the decision.

Teacher hypotheses are at many different levels of scope or generality. In the temporal dimension, they may pertain to a second or two's behavior, an activity lasting twenty or thirty minutes, an approach or sequence in an instructional unit lasting a week or more, or even a broad methodological approach. The complexity of decisions—hundreds of which are made during every teaching hour—is mind-boggling. In fact, the inherent complexity of the phenomena involved may be the principal reason that many educators hesitate to view the teaching role in these terms. It becomes threatening; it seems too difficult. What must be remembered is that the difficulty rests in fully verbalizing the factors involved in any particular teaching decision, not in functioning in the classroom in a way consistent with the model; functioning as an hypothesizer is merely a matter of looking at one's own actions in a particular way. Of course, 'thinking energy' is required.

A concrete example is inevitably simplistic, because it must reduce a dynamic process to a series of statements. With this limitation in mind, it is possible to get at least a glimpse of the process by postulating a teacher who has decided to organize an oral question-answer activity in small groups rather than as a whole-class activity. Let us postulate that the activity is based upon textbook material. It should be acknowledged that with today's teaching loads (at all levels) instructors must be dependent upon textbook material—as a resource but not as a prescript. Few could take the time to create fifteen-minutes' worth of material that has taken conscientious and, hopefully, skilled authors days to create, revise, test, and refine. Let us also assume that the date is February 4, and the class is a first-year, high-school group. (There would be remarkably few changes in the considerations if it were a first-year college class.) The instructor has taken into consideration, according to the model advocated, the following factors. Some will result from a split-second synthesis that only the human mind in its marvelous and mysterious ways can accomplish. Some will result from a few seconds of conscious deliberation. Obviously, no instructor has the possibility of generating such questions during a leisurely, reflective, planning session.

—How many students are in this class?

—How familiar are these particular students with small-group work?

—How successfully do most of these students function in small-group activities?
—What are the various students' attitudes toward working in groups?
—What size shall the groups be?
—On what basis shall I combine particular students?
—Who is likely to take which role in the group?
—How do I deal with students A, B, H, M, and S, who are likely to have problems in the small-group format?
—What will student S, who has been sullen the last three days, do?
—How well do the students know one another?
—How do we physically move chairs and other furniture to permit forming small groups?
—What is the complexity of the new grammatical structure (expressions of quantity, e.g., enough, a lot, a little)?
—What other kinds of practice have we already done with this structure?
—When did we last use small groups?
—When did we last use the question-answer format in small groups?
—How well did the students perform with the most complex activity thus far with this new structure?
—Do the students have enough relevant vocabulary for a communicative activity where they answer questions that use expressions of quantity?
—In answering the questions, are they likely to attempt to use structures that they have not yet learned to use correctly?
—What will I do as a participant in this activity?
—In the overall sequence of instruction, have we reached a point where the lack of instructor intervention in each student's behavior does not pose a problem or is offset by the greater quantity of practice?
—Are this activity and its objectives consistent with the overall program goals?
—How do I, the instructor, feel? Am I today in the right frame of mind or mood for the kind of activity I will do?
—What is the view of my supervisor/administrator toward this format?

This list of questions is certainly not all-inclusive. It scarcely touches on the unique attributes of people and environment, even though those attributes are powerful factors influencing the teaching-learning environment and, therefore, decisions to be made. There is no way, for example, that an instructor can ignore individual student personalities and abilities. There is no way an instructor can ignore a cold, drafty room on a frigid February day when small groups would result in students being near cracked and drafty window frames. There is no way an instructor cannot consider rows of desks fastened in groups of four. Above all, there is no way an author or a non-present methodologist can prescribe the most desirable decision for this particular day in this classroom. Only the instructor has the potential for that goal, for only the instructor is immersed in the situation, and, therefore, only the instructor can have the potential for making the best possible decision. We have been saying to ourselves for several years that there is no one best way to do any classroom activity, but we have rarely analyzed the implications of such a conclusion. It seems inevitable that we must take into account all the situational factors at any moment. By viewing that process as one of hypothesizing about how to best accomplish a particular objective, we add a very important benefit. We add a means for self-improvement because the process is self-correcting. Because thoughtfulness or intentionality is an inherent part of hypothesiz-

ing, there has to be an awareness of the relationship between the hypothesis and the consequences. If an instructor has made a prediction and the prediction is incorrect, reconsideration is inevitable. Analysis of each hypothesis and its consequences becomes then a means by which the instructor modifies his or her insights and future behavior.

It should be acknowledged that there are some educators who do not wish to be analytical. It is, of course, easier not to think than to do so. There are instructors who want to have a textbook from which they can do item after item, page after page, without even having to be bothered by decisions about skipping sections of the book. There appears to be no way a vision of a better profession can accommodate this person.

Lastly, there are those who would like to simplify life for teachers. That is certainly a laudable goal in the sense of providing teachers with assistance, eliminating nonessential and purely administrative tasks, and making teacher loads realistic (which would seem to require a fifty percent cut!). It is also easy to agree with Robert Lafayette [12] and others who are concerned about teachers being pushed simultaneously in several directions toward multiple, incompatible curricular designs. If, however, this concept of 'curricular overchoice' is interpreted very broadly and extended to include our slowly growing understanding of the complexity of the second language teaching-learning process and all the ramifications of that complexity, we would be in the awkward position of arguing for closing our eyes to the reality around us (akin to a physician making a diagnosis on the basis of temperature alone rather than being 'confused' by a series of tests and diagnostic procedures). Overchoice is, therefore, a self-contradictory concept when applied to teachers working with language learners. It cannot be part of a vision of tomorrow, anymore than it reconciles with the realities of today.

The Effective Second Language Teacher

Instant fame and wealth would result for anyone able to specify exactly how to become 'effective' as a language teacher. At the same time, in a different sense, we know and have known for a long time about effective teaching. Some claim to know very well what an effective teacher is. It is, they say, a teacher who creates enthusiasm in students, a teacher who stimulates them to extend language study, a teacher who develops excellent language proficiency, and, thus, the litany may continue. It is, however, a rather futile litany, for it is only a litany of the *effects* or results of effective teaching. The more important and far more difficult questions pertain to what kind of person or what kinds of behaviors will lead to these effects. What kinds of personalities or appearances or activities result in student enthusiasm and skill development? The answers to these questions are as elusive today as they have been for centuries. Indeed, the most profound answer in light of the best knowledge in 1979 would be a phrase like "Lot's of different kinds" or "It depends."

12. "Coping with 'Innovative Overchoice:' A Curriculum Model," *Foreign Language Annals*, 11 (1978, 247-56.

A dilemma is created by this state of affairs: we cannot say what an effective teacher is, but we believe we can readily recognize him or her. The situation is reminiscent of the Xerox Corporation's television advertisement in which a scientist says, "I can't tell you what makes a genius, but I can recognize genius when I see it." It is not unlike the coach who cannot tell the star athlete exactly how to move various muscles but who can recognize superb skill and provide 'guidelines'—but guidelines that are very broad and that acknowledge the situational considerations. Thus, consistency with the teacher role advocated in this essay requires very cautious interpretation of this concept of 'effective teachers.' The interpretation is not an interpretation that usually pleases most educators.

> What do we *really* know about teaching? Young people who are about to become teachers are anxious to acquire substantive knowledge of their chosen field; those who are already teachers would like to improve their skills; and teacher-educators would like to supply both with knowledge that has been verified through rigorous research. Unfortunately, most of these persons will be disappointed in their search for knowledge. Most of the questions they will ask have yet to be studied at all, and much of the research on teaching conducted so far does not provide adequate answers.[13]

It seems that we have been asking an inappropriate question when we ask what an effective second language teacher is like. Such a question is analogous to and just as inappropriate as asking what the best method is. It is broad, and it does not, therefore, recognize the inherently situational aspects of being a teacher.

> Most of the early studies also sought universal qualities of effective teachers. Thus, it was assumed that teachers who are warm, intelligent, well organized, responsive, or good disciplinarians would be more 'effective' as teachers than persons who possess these characteristics to a lesser extent. Such statements sound reasonable on first reading, yet will they hold for all types of subject matter, for both first- and twelfth-grade pupils, or for both inner-city and suburban schools? It may be that teacher 'warmth' is a more important quality for first graders than for twelfth graders, while 'discipline' might be a greater determinant of effectiveness for inner-city than for suburban schools. *Thus, what makes for effective teaching probably varies from context to context* [Emphasis added].[14]

Each teacher—if we may view a person as a composite of many components and variables—is a unique composite with strengths, weaknesses, and preferences. Each must function each day in a new context, a unique context never before existing in exactly that way in the history of man. On any given day, a class of students is different from every other class—and even different from the same class the day before. At the very minimum, each participant has lived and experienced and been shaped by another twenty-four hours. The variables of the moment surely combine in such a way that there is a desirable course of action for the instructor. One can envision a large computer that could take into account all the pertinent variables and come out with a prescription for the best course of action in much the same way as television sports pro-

13. Dunkin and Biddle, p. 11.
14. Ibid., p. 15.

grams sometimes include computer predictions for various athletic events. Unfortunately, we do not have adequate knowledge to identify all the pertinent variables, nor can a teacher perceive, recognize, hold in mind, and analyze comprehensively all of them the way a computer can.

Fortunately, the teacher's strength is the non-computer-like judgment of the human mind. The teacher can dynamically synthesize these factors in a way that happens in a flash and may be labelled 'intuition.' Thus, it appears that the question of effectiveness brings us directly back to the role of the teacher: the context determines the most effective decision a teacher can make. All that we can hope to promulgate are general guidelines. A concrete example is inevitably reminiscent of the earlier example of a teacher's decision to use small groups. Let us assume for this case, however, that clarity were in fact firmly established as an important variable influencing teaching effectiveness. It is easy to accept the claim that we would find many different teachers achieving clarity in many different ways. For any particular content or objective there are certainly multiple sequences of activity and ideas that achieve clarity.

The use of various teaching devices (handouts, overhead projectors, objects or exemplars, chalkboard, etc.) will likewise vary in many ways (e.g., function, timing, placement in presentation, frequency of reference to them, attractiveness of device, etc.). The pace of the presentation will vary. Some persons will pause for a few moments at critical times to permit thinking or 'processing time.' Others will not pause, because within their style of a continuous sequence of carefully interrelated ideas any pause would be interruptive. Some instructors will make their presentation totally rational; others will integrate an emotional element. That emotional element may be a part of the content, or it may be a subtle part of the instructor's interpersonal relationships with students (e.g., warm eye-contact, personal comments, smiles and other gestures). Some instructors will artfully involve students in a way that contributes to clarity; others will not. Some will use humor; for others, humor would be distracting.

It can be readily seen that this example could be extended considerably. Moreover, it is very evident that it is difficult—perhaps erroneous—to attempt to abstract one dimension, such as clarity, out of an entire, interwoven configuration of behavior.

Extracting the general guidelines from the specifics has not been easy for education in general and for second language education in particular. The history of research on effectiveness exemplifies our difficulties. The voluminous research on teacher effectiveness (more than 10,000 studies) is striking by its self-contradictory nature. On any single topic or aspect of effectiveness, one can find studies supporting each of several alternatives, as well as a large number of studies that found no differences among the alternatives. In examining this research, one is also struck by the difficulty and controversy inherent in selecting a criterion of effectiveness. There are many different kinds of effectiveness—indeed many different 'effectivenesses.' Even the few variables that show up frequently in these studies (e.g., warmth or approachableness, good organizational skills, and clarity) are not strong correlates of success. One can find many teachers who are splendidly successful in terms of many definitions of success but who do not have these qualities.

Within second language education, our research is not a microcosm of the larger educational enterprise. We do not have numerous, contradictory studies; we have,

rather, a very few studies, most of which are so defective in terms of their research methodology that they are totally invalid. These studies are so totally incongruous with the research outside our own field that they elicit only derision from professionals in other areas of education, particularly when these studies attempt to delineate what effective second language teachers do. Furthermore, we must recognize the current, nearly total, lack of research on all aspects of the second language teaching-learning process. Virtually all that is being done is dissertation research. The characteristics of that research (e.g., apprenticeship efforts, low-cost, short-term, one-shot) are not at all consistent with the needs for research on teaching behavior. We may not have yet discovered, furthermore, how to do research on teaching effectiveness. Up to now, our efforts to understand it have been efforts to understand the role and significance of isolated variables. Within this traditional research paradigm, to interrelate variables in a complex way is to make them unresearchable. That leads to an important question: *What do we know* about being effective as language teachers that is not situational? In other words, what are the general guidelines that may be helpful in making those specific contextual decisions?

Our Problem of the One and the Many

Second language teachers are seriously hindered in their efforts to share in the developing understanding of the teaching-learning process—in coming to understand better the general principles that can guide the specific decisions we all make every day. It is obvious to all of us that we do not have great amounts of time for wading through the literature in order to find an important fact or interpretation. Another subtle but powerful barrier to knowledge dissemination, however, is the nature of our professional literature. In many ways, our literature of recent years is composed of 'everyone's newest idea of the season.' Most items are either a what-do-I-do-Monday-morning-type article or someone's alleged insight into the direction of the profession, its nature, goals of instruction, or curricular designs. It may well be that we have more insights into the direction the profession is moving than we have movement! We seem to have created a tradition of valuing the glamorous idea rather than the solid, but not immediately exciting, insight into our day-to-day teaching activity.

What seems to be particularly rare in our periodical literature are syntheses of what we know about matters involved in the daily decisions of all language teachers (regardless of whether they see their program as career-oriented, humanistic, individualized, or traditional). Such syntheses are not only rare; they are scarely ever done from a fair and dispassionate perspective. Instead, the reality is that they are propaganda for some new idea or crusade.

The following sections represent, therefore, an effort to synthesize knowledge about several issues that influence the daily decisions of every language teacher in every classroom—our own sort of 'back to basics.' The syntheses are a composite of all information available to this writer and are, therefore, not fully documented. As interpretations of vast and diverse bits of information, they may be viewed by some as 'position papers.'

THE ROLE OF THE NATIVE LANGUAGE IN INSTRUCTION

One of the most common uncertainties of many second language teachers—perhaps 'hang-ups' is a more descriptive term—concerns the amount, frequency, and function of the native language. Dare I use English? (For simplicity let us assume English is the native language.) When should I use it? How much? What are the consequences? Are there circumstances when it should never be used? There is an enormous amount of mythology and 'gospel' surrounding this issue. It is the sort of issue that could result in an instructor, confronted with incontrovertible evidence, still saying, "Yes, but I don't agree. . . ."

The issue essentially relates to the role and nature of meaning in language. In our classrooms, we present students every day with unfamiliar sounds and combinations of letters, and we ask those students to attach meaning to that unfamiliar system—not just any meaning, but meaning that resembles the meaning a native speaker of the language would attach. We shall subsequently ask the students to produce those new combinations of sounds and letters in order to encode and transmit intended meaning, but *first* the meaning must be attached to the symbols. All possible ways of informing the student of the meaning to be attached reduce to two alternatives: (1) a direct representation via objects, actions, pictures, etc., or (2) an approximation in the native language. There are no other ways, unless one twists the meaning of 'informing' to encompass a student's guessing the meaning from a context—and, at the same time, one denies that this approach is a form of direct representation.

There are clearly advantages and disadvantages to each strategy. Unfortunately, the advantages and disadvantages can be meaningfully considered only in light of the nature of learning itself. Thus, the question immediately becomes imbedded in a complexity of issues that deserve volumes. Limitation to a few paragraphs, therefore, necessitates exclusion of many issues; excluding some issues is not, however, synonymous with ignoring them.

Although definitions and models of learning still vary significantly, those that enjoy the greatest respect today among educators all share one characteristic. In one way or another, they involve relating the new material to be learned to what has been learned previously. The existing knowledge and skills (or 'cognitive structure,' to use a powerful, albeit abstract, metaphor) become the most important variable influencing the learning. If the new material can be related to the existing knowledge, learning—as an elaboration of the existing knowledge—is successful. If, however, the new material appears totally unfamiliar, unrelatable to what the student knows already, or is inconsistent with what he or she knows, learning is not going to occur. In this case, in student terminology, it did not 'make sense.' If the new material is in fact not 'new' but is a repetition of what is known rather than an elaboration of it, learning will not occur because, very simply, the learner stops attending to it and becomes bored.

The question then arises as to what beginning language students know already—what is already in many of their cognitive structures—that is relevant to the new learning. What are relevant ideas for 'anchoring' the new material? First of all, one has to recognize that all the known, verbal material has been learned via the native language. Likewise, nearly all the student knows about language in general relates to the native language (except for an already experienced foreign language learner). It is *inevitable,*

therefore, that the first language is going to play a large part in learning the second language.

One way in which the native language comes into play is certainly in the establishment of meaning for new words. There is no evidence that students learning a language *in a classroom setting* learn meanings of new symbols in a direct way (i.e., associating them directly with concepts or exemplars of concepts). Even when an instructor is demonstrating the meaning of a word (or group of words) by actions or by multiple visuals, the students are not starting from a *tabula rasa* status, forming the meaning by successive refinements with each new example presented by the instructor. Rather, they are hypothesizing about the meaning—hypothesizing in the only way they are able, in terms of the native language. If they are learning a new vocabulary term for an object, perhaps via the instructor's holding up multiple exemplars of the object, students will hypothesize a native language equivalent until their hypothesis is confirmed enough times that they are confident they know it. Unfortunately, some have still made erroneous hypotheses (assumed wrong meanings). The native language appears to have functioned as a link (mediator) between the new word and the concept. In other words, the new word becomes a new label for an established concept for which the objects were exemplars. Individual differences are certainly significant in dimensions such as the number of repetitions needed to make different students confident they 'know' the word and in the subsequent role of native language involvement. With additional contact with the concept, learning the exact nature or refinement of the concept should occur. This concept formation or modification is synonymous with what we usually call 'learning about cultural differences.'

It is important for us to recognize that when we utilize a 'direct' technique for demonstrating or establishing meaning, it appears that the vast majority of students (probably all) are not utilizing (in their heads) a parallel, direct technique. One cannot help being reminded of similar discrepancies between teacher perceptions and student perceptions in the research of Carol Hosenfeld.[15] Perhaps we would benefit from capitalizing on what students actually do rather than what we wish they would do. We have been too often inclined to say, "Woe are we; they can't avoid reliance on the native language."

Does the inevitable, early use of the native language by second language learners mean that a learner must always involve the first language in second language use? Certainly not; it would appear that the role of the first language gradually diminishes until at some point in proficiency it is no longer a significant or even noticeable factor. This probably happens at the point where many learners report they 'think in the language.' It is interesting to note, however, that even extremely proficient second language users will revert to a conscious translation into the first language when they are faced with a difficult task, e.g., reading complex and unfamiliar material.

Does this learner behavior mean that teachers should readily and frequently use the native language in the classroom? No, one cannot make such an inference. The most

15. "The New Student Role: Individual Differences and Implications for Instruction," in *Perspective: A New Freedom*, ACTFL Review of Foreign Language Education, Vol. 7, ed. Gilbert A. Jarvis (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook, 1975), 129-67; and "Learning about Learning: Discovering Our Students' Strategies," *Foreign Language Annals*, 9 (1976), 117-29.

important consideration has to be the purpose or function of the native language use. As an initial presentation of meaning, it would seem usually justified. Other variables quickly become involved in the matter, however. Whenever the native language is being spoken, heard, read, or written, the target language is not being utilized. Thus, practice time is being diminished. Although the time may be only a few seconds here and a few seconds there, the cumulative effect is a reduction in the already limited contact (or practice) with the new language. Amount (as well as kind) of practice is one of the few well-documented variables that influence learning for everyone. Thus, when students have learned some vocabulary and patterns of the language, that material is a relevant part of their cognitive structures. New material can be related to it. Thus, when new words can be accurately and understandably defined in the target language, use of the native language would omit an opportunity for practice—a little more contact with the language.

Special attention must also be given to the lack of correspondence between the concepts of one language or culture and those of another. A fundamental insight that has to be learned is that there is no one-to-one correspondence between concepts. This insight is fundamental, but it is not difficult to learn. Thus, students can initially relate the new item to a concept of their own culture and gradually (sometimes immediately) modify it as they learn more.

There are risks in the indiscriminate use of the native language. Some teachers (who are not conscious decision-makers) develop a subconscious habit of reinforcing all target language use with a translation. They translate virtually all they say immediately after uttering it. Students are wise in many ways, especially in becoming 'efficient' learners. They pay attention only to what is necessary—and there is no reason to expend mental energy to attach meaning to the target language when the instructor will predictably follow with the native language, which will require less mental energy to process. The situation created is similar to that of watching a football game on television. One can even do other work at the same time, because, after each important play, the instant replay will provide the opportunity not only to see it, but it will also have been edited to show the important action or players. Part of the observing task has been eliminated or simplified.

Occasionally an instructor can be found who explains grammar patterns in the target language. Even a few textbooks with target language explanations are still available. If one examines the activity analytically, the only conclusion that can be reached is that the purpose and the procedures do not match. Understanding a grammatical pattern is certainly not a goal in and of itself, but it can be a powerful shortcut in learning to use a pattern. To mask or hide that pattern in a language that has not yet been learned is dysfunctional. Once the level of sophistication in the language permits understanding the grammatical description fully in the language, use of the language then provides additional practice.

Thus, the instructor must be discriminating in decisions about use of the native language—or, as has already been argued, about all pedagogical decisions. When a student does not know meaning, a native language approximation is the most efficient means of providing it. When, however, practice is repeatedly diminished or when an inappropriate habit or expectation is reinforced, the native language use detracts from learning. Each decision must, further, include consideration of all the contextual fac-

tors present (e.g., the particular student or students and their learning styles and strategies, the level of instruction, the point of proficiency within the particular concept, and everyone's feelings at the particular moment).

QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF PRACTICE

One of the best-established principles influencing the teaching-learning process in the classroom is the importance of practice. It has importance in terms of its quantity and in terms of its quality. Most teachers are well aware of the importance of abundant practice; indeed, even lay people will argue for the value of practice in learning. There are, however, distinctions in kinds of practice that are made neither by lay persons nor by some language teachers. This issue of kind of practice must be put high on our profession's agenda of major issues for the immediate future.

There remains a widespread belief that if one were to stand outside the door of a foreign language classroom and hear the foreign language being used a large proportion of the time, that use would in and of itself be an indicator of good quality. Language being used is better than language not being used! Unfortunately, such reasoning is akin to inferring solely from the sound of splashing water in a swimming pool that great, potential, Olympic swimmers are being developed. The sound may well come from fine swimmers training very hard, but it may also come from a class in which students are learning their first swimming stroke, or it may come from a group of nonswimmers playing in the water. That playing may indeed contribute to their physical conditioning, but it is far from carefully chosen swim drills in developing Olympic-class ability. In the language classroom, we expect proficiency that is probably analogous to the Olympian's skills. We can, moreover, practice the language in ways that are as different one from the other as are splashing by playing in the water and splashing by sprinting a 100-meter butterfly stroke. Unfortunately, many of us fail day after day to make distinctions as important as this one.

To amplify the point, we can consider as an isolated, out-of-context behavior one student's saying in the target language "It's nice outside." That bit of behavior could be many different behaviors. It might, for example, be a simple repetition of a teacher's having said, "It's nice outside." One could delineate (assuming we had full and accurate knowledge) the kinds of abilities and prerequisite knowledge necessary to be able to repeat the sentence. In other words, we could (if we chose to do so) delineate all the mental and physical operations that are involved.

That isolated bit of behavior might also be an item in a substitution drill: It's cold outside . . . nice . . . It's nice outside. The kinds of abilities and knowledge necessary to perform this substitution are clearly different from those involved in repeating the sentence. (Witness the student who can repeat very well, but who in the substitution task responds, "Nice cold outside.")

That isolated bit of behavior might also be a response in a question-answer drill. A teacher (or another student) has asked, "How's the weather outside?" But, the instructor has also given the answer 'nice' as a cue. The student then responds, "It's nice outside," even though it may be a bitterly cold, snowy day. The behavior is a manipulation that is different from the manipulation involved in the substitution drill, and, therefore, the skills and knowledge involved in responding are once again different.

The isolated response "It's nice outside" may be many other sorts of manipulation. It may also be, however, a dramatically different behavior. It may be a genuine, meaningful, communicative act. The instructor or another student may have asked about the weather conditions, and the student response is one of considering the weather conditions, evaluating them (e.g., sunny and 50°F is beautiful in certain areas at certain times of the year, but not elsewhere or at other times), and then coding this interpretation in the grammar and vocabulary of the new language. It may be that the responding student has just been outside, or it may be that he or she is communicating only his or her interpretation of the climate. This behavior is radically different from all the manipulative examples, because it involves not only the skills and knowledge that are inherent in the manipulation but also more complex abilities. The behavior is student-created and controlled. Its form and content are determined by the person making the utterance. As a result, the participants in the exchange are changed in just one small way. Something is known that was not known prior to the exchange, even if that new knowledge is merely how one person interprets today's weather.

This concept of communication as making a difference has been well articulated by Earl Stevick.[16] In terms of the cognitive-structure model, the communicative practice causes many more connections in many more ways to the cognitive structure because, quite simply, the learner's personal experience as represented in the structure comes into play. The psychological research in general (independent of the cognitive-structure model) also supports the efficacy of meaningfulness. It should also be emphasized that meaningful use of language can involve *any* or all of the four language skills. No priority for the speaking skill is implied. The distinction between manipulative practice and communicative or meaningful practice is further supported by legions of students in the past—and an unfortunately large number in the present—who can do all manner of manipulation but who cannot participate in a real exchange of meaning. It is clear that the manipulative or component skills do not automatically transfer to the one ability that is the only legitimate goal within the area of language skills. The inference is indisputable: genuine communicative practice must be a part of classroom activity. A mere promise of being able to communicate 'someday' is indefensible.

The most frequent type of practice that is meaningful or communicative in our classrooms today is most certainly question-and-answer exchange—often referred to as 'personalized questions.' There is no inherent fault in that fact. If language practice is to resemble the way in which human beings actually use the language, the question-answer format has considerable validity; much of our talk with others is a form of asking and responding. There are, however, several ways in which we sometimes distort the question-answer pattern. In many classrooms, one person asks the questions, and thirty answer them! In the extreme case, one can find classrooms where students have good proficiency with many aspects of the language but no proficiency with interrogative forms, for it has always been the instructor who asked the questions. Such classes would clearly benefit from small-group work where students could ask one

16. *Memory, Meaning, and Method: Some Psychological Perspectives on Language Learning* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1976).

another the questions, thus greatly increasing the amount of meaningful practice.

Question-answer exchange can also become, with a few small changes in the activity, a rather strange behavior that bears little resemblance to real language use. When, for example, the instructor asks what color the chalkboard is, and everyone in the room can already see that it is green, the exchange has become little more than a charade. No information (not even an interpretation) has been transmitted between persons; nothing at all has been changed by the behavior. Likewise, the activity can be distorted into something very unlike meaningful language use by emphasizing form rather than meaning. The French teacher who asks a boy if he is French but uses a feminine form of the adjective (*Êtes-vous française?*) has used language in a way that no speaker of the language would ever do; there are abundant, authentic ways to have the student practice saying he is American. The practice of new language structure and vocabulary in a meaningful way can of course take many forms other than question-and-answer. The only requisite is that students attend to meaning in order to respond. Some frequently used formats that can meet this need are:

(1) Incomplete sentences;
(2) Sentence builders (forming a message by combining items from each of several columns or categories);
(3) Agree-disagree (with restatement of those items with which one disagrees);
(4) Rating scales (of many sorts);
(5) Ranking;
(6) Simulations (Assume you are. . .).

More and more textbooks are incorporating these formats into their designs. That inclusion is of critical importance because of the reality of today's teaching loads. It is blatantly unfair to expect the classroom teacher in 1979 to have the time or the expertise to create his or her own materials.

Another reality that must be dealt with is the affective reaction of some very involved teachers who feel tired of hearing about communicative use of the language or the more troublesome term 'communicative competence.' Admittedly, it has been a concept that has been prominent on conference programs and in our literature during the last three or four years. Sadly, its prominence there is matched by its absence in classrooms. That reality must change or the vision cannot materialize.

THE ISSUE OF ROTE LEARNING

An issue that continues to divide a significant minority of teachers from the majority is the merit and purpose of memorizing second language material. The material may be isolated sentences or extended series of sentences. Most frequently, it is a series of exchanges in dialogue or conversation format. The student is to replicate the material 'from memory.'

The proliferation of the practice in our classrooms can be traced to audiolingual methodology. Its use seemed to apply most frequently to the learning of pronunciation, vocabulary, and, especially, grammatical patterns. The rejection of the practice in many classrooms is clearly traceable to student reactions. In one way or another, the vast majority of students said, "I hate to memorize dialogues." Although few would claim that student reaction is the principal criterion for judging the suitability of an in-

structional procedure, it is impossible to ignore large numbers of students manifesting their reaction in ways that are as dramatic as abandoning language study. Thus, one unavoidable observation is that any value of the procedure—whatever that value may be—is diminished by student reaction to it. The essential task for the profession (or those who advocate rote learning) is, therefore, to document its efficacy so that teachers and students can see benefits that outweigh this very real negative effect.

An interpretation of the literature dealing with modern learning theory and classroom practice has to lead to the conclusion that claimed benefits have not yet been substantiated. It should be acknowledged, however, that in the area of grammar learning we may someday substantially revise all current thinking. As John Carroll has indicated, "the process is still regarded as more or less a mystery."[17]

Proponents of rote learning are diverse in their rationales and arguments, and it is not the purpose of this essay to delineate their arguments. Rather, in terms of types of rationales, it seems that many theorists relate the practice in one way or another to first language learning by young children. Perhaps because young children are not explicitly aware of grammatical patterns, it is assumed that their language behavior consists of rote habits. The evidence seems to be growing, however, that there are significant differences between first language learning by children (whatever its nature) and classroom second language learning by persons past the age of puberty. As Wilga Rivers[18] has summarized, the similarities or differences depend upon the level of generality one is considering. There is growing recognition of the tremendous importance of whether or not a learner has reached the level of formal operations (in Piagetian terms). The import of this fundamental change in the nature of the learner is being increasingly recognized: "more and more researchers are recognizing the distinct character of adolescent/adult second language learning."[19] Many teachers have long recognized that after this developmental change the learner can use abstractions (such as grammatical 'rules') as shortcuts; prior to this age, they are inevitably meaningless. It, therefore, seems both fair and necessary to conclude that extrapolation from the first language situation can be made only on the most global level and not in a specific way that is useful for making decisions about classroom behavior.

The learning of grammatical patterns via memorized dialogue practice has been explicitly criticized by David Ausubel, who indicts the lack of awareness of phrase meaning or what is, at best, awareness of total phrase meaning.

> Thus, the learner understands neither the syntactic functions of the component words nor the denotative and syntactical contributions of the *individual* words to the total meaning of the phrase. A purely arbitrary (rote) rather than lawful or meaningful relationship prevails between phrase meaning and component elements of the phrase.
>
> Under these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that particular grammatical patterns can be emitted perfectly in a familiar and structurally limited context, or

17. "Learning Theory for the Classroom Teacher," in *The Challenge of Communication*, ACTFL Review of Foreign Language Education, Vol. 6, ed. Gilbert A. Jarvis (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook, 1974), 137.

18. "Language Learning and Language Teaching—Any Relationship?" in *Second Language Acquisition Research: Issues and Implications*, ed. William C. Ritchie (New York: Academic Press, 1978), pp. 201-13.

19. Ibid., p. 203.

> that simple substitutions, transformations, and elaborations can be made, but that new words in a wider, unfamiliar context cannot be fitted into the learned pattern, or that the same words and syntactical categories cannot be recombined in different patterns to express different ideas.[20]

In terms of learning to use the grammatical patterns of a language, the bottom line appears to be that there is simply no compelling evidence to support rote learning. Indeed, there does not seem to be a defensible classroom model of grammar learning in which rote learning is a component. Even if rote behavior were a step in learning a language in a naturalistic setting, the single fact that we expect to develop some modicum of proficiency in four or five hours per week creates an entirely different set of learning conditions and requirements. Learning grammar means learning to behave in a rule-governed way. Regardless of whether or not the student is expected to verbalize (describe) the rule, there must be awareness of how the various grammatical components function. One can readily see, for example, that a learner who can say or write "The car stopped" must know that "car" and "rain" are in the same grammatical category in order to create a novel statement such as "The rain stopped." In terms of *transfer of training* (a very old psychological concept), rote learning does little to enhance transfer and, in fact, seems to inhibit it. If there is one ability within the whole spectrum of human behavior that requires transfer, it is the creation and reception of language utterances that are novel to the learner. As argued earlier, no ability less than genuine communicative use of the language (which is inherently novel use) can be our goal.

The value of rote learning of material for the practice of pronunciation is more ambiguous. Selection of material to be memorized permits control over the sounds, combinations of sound, length of utterances, and sequencing of content. The type of psychomotor skill involved can, moreover, be 'shaped' in a direction toward greater and greater accuracy by the teacher's gradually reinforcing or accepting better and better renditions. All these factors are advantages for the teacher or textbook author designing instructional arrangements. A major disadvantage rests in the lack of transferability of rote behavior to other contexts. Some students will pronounce the memorized material very authentically but will distort the same words in other contexts.

There are two situations in which there are clear-cut benefits in rote behavior. First, the memorization of conversations by young children (i.e., those prior to the age of formal operations) can be a powerful motivator. Role-playing a person in a dialogue becomes a part of the pretend world in which children are totally comfortable. To some, it is quite simply a 'fun' activity; to others, it meets a need to escape for a few moments from a self they do not like. The second useful application of rote behavior is in learning basic conversational expressions (Hello, How are you, etc.). The lifelong use of such items is largely rote-like use.

The learning of meanings or vocabulary often resembles rote learning, particularly in the paired-associate paradigm in psychological research on verbal learning. Even when words are put in a list (target language with native language), however, many

20. *Educational Psychology: A Cognitive View*, 2nd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), pp. 77-78.

students use all manner of strategies, mediators, and mnemonic devices to make the associations meaningful. The impression of individual differences overwhelms any attempt at further generalization here, but it should be noted that certain instructional strategies predispose students to learning vocabulary in a meaningful rather than rote manner. When new words are presented or practiced in a context (even when native language glosses are provided along the margins), the words are surrounded by a constellation of meaning that encourages meaningful use and that has no natural affinity with rote learning. Use in context—with meanings provided—provides a useful learning set.

This is not, however, synonymous with the typical arguments for the strategy we usually call 'logical contextual guessing,' (though 'guessing' is clearly an unfortunate choice of terminology). Several distinctions must be made. Contextual guessing (or hypothesizing) is a strategy used by *proficient* readers in any language. This fact does not automatically, however, make it a useful strategy for the instruction of students who are not yet proficient readers. Although it is a necessary ability for a proficient reader, it is also a strategy that can be developed only after a significant amount of proficiency is present. That proficiency is, in effect, a prerequisite for the behavior. (Contextual guessing requires 'guessing' based upon a context that is known.) At earlier stages of instruction, unknown words that are randomly spread throughout a text are not always going to be guessed because of their frequency, distribution, or the nature of the context. The only way contextual guessing can occur in early instruction is with carefully constructed contexts of known words where all ambiguities have been precluded—not a characteristic of natural material. This is an entirely defensible strategy, but one that should not be confused with what happens when fluent readers encounter unknown words in 'natural' texts. Most importantly, these activities should not be confused with presenting words in context accompanied by native language glosses.

Thus, it seems that careful analysis and judgment by an instructor will result in less use of rote learning than is currently the case. Yet, there is no wisdom in making unequivocal proscriptions of rote behavior. As always, wisdom is dependent on the instructor's interpretation of the particular situation—a vision of opportunity but a reality of responsibility.

RESPONDING TO "HUH:" THE EPITOME OF THE TEACHER ROLE

One problem that faces every classroom instructor and that requires continual decisions and hypotheses is the manner in which the instructor deals with student 'non-response.' To create an archetypical situation, let us assume an instructor has asked a question and has called on a student, who responds with, "Huh?" The question may be of many sorts, but, to concretize the example, let us assume it is during a quasi-communicative exchange dealing with days, dates, and seasons. The instructor has asked in the target language, "What is the date today?" The student "huh" has made it the teacher's 'turn' to react.

It is remarkable in 1979 to encounter large numbers of educators who, when presented with this situation, react with a statement such as, "You should always. . . ." Even more remarkable is the number of instructors who complete that

statement in the same way: "You should go quickly to another student, elicit the response, and return to the first student, so that he or she can repeat the response." There is no question that this is one option available to the instructor. There is a question, however, about the desirability of the behavior, particularly when it appears to be a sort of knee-jerk reaction to students who do not respond. One might argue that it is one of the cruelest, self-defeating practices in our classrooms. One anonymous student perceived it this way:

> She called on me just at a time when my mind wandered for a few seconds. She ought to know I try to learn. . . . But my Dad is sick, and last hour in English we talked about a story where a kid's father died, and he had to go to work instead of going to the college he had planned on. . . . I was startled when she called my name. Then she called on Steve, and he gave the answer. Don't teachers know that it hurts to be unable to answer in front of everyone? Then, just to rub it in, they call on a good student who of course gives the answer . . . right after you couldn't. It's like saying, "See, see, how dumb you are." Then, as if that weren't enough, the teacher made the whole class say it together . . . a chorus of voices telling me how awful I was. It's not the other kids' fault; she made them do it. Then she made me say it—maybe as one last punishment. I said it, but I don't know now even what I said. I wanted to cry, I was so damn mad. God, I hate her for that. . . .

This student reaction exemplifies two powerful arguments against use of this strategy by many instructors. It is a technique that causes very negative feelings in many students; it is a punitive option. Although individual differences in students and instructors can influence the reaction, it appears that only those very motivated students, who say in one way or another "Whip me until I get it right," have positive reactions to the technique.

A second significant though more subtle disadvantage of the technique is the establishment of an inappropriate learning set. Students become skilled at extricating themselves from problematic situations—a kind of survival skill, in effect. When an instructor establishes a pattern of going to a second student and then returning to the first for a repetition, students quickly learn that they will have to echo whatever the second student says in order to escape from the problem. All the ingredients are present to virtually assure a rote echo. Ironically, many teachers conclude that the student learned because of the teacher strategy. *What* did the student learn?

There are many options other than the above behavior. Some of the most common are listed below with generalizations and brief commentary about their effects. Each, of course, can have very different effects in particular situations.

(1) Attempt to determine whether the problem is one of comprehending the question or formulating the response. This activity is wisely viewed as a prerequisite to other actions. Quite obviously, experienced teachers need not be told how to make such judgments; suffice it to say that most such diagnostic techniques fall into the categories of observing nonverbal behavior, or in one way or another asking the student whether he or she understands the question.

(2) If the question has not been understood, one option is to localize and remedy the impediment to understanding. The behavior depends on the problem but is frequently a paraphrase, synonym, or translation of a word. Such an assist frequently is sufficient to result in a response by the student.

(3) The instructor may simplify the question. If its structure is complex or if it is long, it may be reduced from its original form. If it has been a question eliciting who, what, where, etc. content, the question may be modified to a yes-no type or an either-or question (e.g., "Is today April 20" or "Is today April 20 or April 21?").

(4) The instructor may prompt the response by providing the first word(s) and perhaps even additional words to assist the student in formulating the response. In the extreme, the instructor may prompt the student through nearly the entire response; nevertheless, the student perceives participation in the production of it — a kind of face-saving participation. (I needed help, but *I* did it.)

(5) The instructor may provide the answer to the original question and then slightly modify the question and ask the same student. This strategy is characterized by persistence and is usually based on the assumption of a high likelihood of the student's having remedied the problem in the first question. A modified question might be, with the present example, "What is the date tomorrow?"

(6) The instructor may ask another student the same question and return to the first student with a *different* question. The nature of the difference between the questions is determined by the instructor's hypothesis about what the student is to learn, has learned, and can succeed with. Such a procedure contrasts vividly with the initially described procedure in that it does not automatically indict and punish the student by juxtaposing a peer who can answer the same question. Moreover, it establishes a very different learning set when used repeatedly by an instructor. It implicitly says to the student "learn from the response of a peer because you will have the opportunity in a few moments to apply what you have learned to a new — but similar — question." This procedure implies a 'big stick,' but it is preeminently a fair and legitimate one.

(7) The instructor may opt for a class or group 'remedial' activity. He or she may, for example, initiate an activity involving a simpler manipulative exercise with the language pattern, or he or she may choose to redescribe the language pattern involved. It is this writer's judgment that, in spite of the need for students to understand the pattern, too many instructors spend far too much time describing the patterns. The increased understanding that results from these explanations is not sufficient to offset the loss of practice time.

Obviously, other options are available to the instructor, and there are variations of these strategies. Likewise, as argued throughout this Report, the unique circumstances of the moment must be considered. The example is intended, however, to show the absurdity of responding in a uniform way to all 'huhs.' A reality of individual differences must lead to a vision of a teacher making the best judgments he or she can make (knowing that some will be wrong) in an attempt to match the learning conditions to individual students.

THE VISION AND REALITY OF MAINSTREAMING

Public Law 94-142 (The Education of All Handicapped Children Act) will soon have an impact on every educator at all levels. The impact is going to be substantial, and we must, therefore, *begin* analysis of it and its implications. A free, appropriate, public education for all handicapped children is unquestionably a splendid vision. There is also, however, a reality of anxiety experienced by large numbers of teachers—anxiety that results from a nearly total lack of information and experience in dealing with handicapped students. Added to this lacuna is the difficulty in handling a class of twenty-five or thirty in which there will also be one or two handicapped students. The heterogeneity of a class is greatly increased, for example, with the addition of one sightless learner.

It should be admitted from the start that *collectively* we have no information on how we can help students with various handicaps learn a second language. It would seem, therefore, that we have two avenues for someday coming to understand. First, we can turn to the body of knowledge developed in special education. We might begin to have experts in that field do workshops and make presentations at our professional meetings. Experts in that field will quickly point out, however, that they know little about second language education and that their knowledge base was developed, for the most part, in classrooms restricted to handicapped students. The mainstreaming concept creates an entirely new set of questions, implications, and needs.

The second avenue is building a knowledge base from actual experience in many classrooms—a professional 'show-and-tell' of experience. Instructors are beginning to experience occasional handicapped students. Their efforts at hypothesizing the best strategies and arrangements seem to be the shortest route to a beginning of a knowledge base. As they identify techniques that are successful (or plausible approaches that failed), they would share these experiences. Marshall Brannon and David Cox provide a good example of such sharing.[21] The crucial element needed in this proposal is the vehicle for sharing such information. It would seem that many different publications could meet this need; however, a regularly appearing feature would be advantageous. Thus, a regular column in a major journal (similar to the section on individualized instruction in *Foreign Language Annals* a few years ago) would meet the need very well.

It should be noted that sharing classroom experience in order to build a knowledge base is not a satisfactory way to learn all we need to know about helping handicapped young persons learn a foreign language. It is an expedient way to develop a minimum base of understanding—a base that will help us all to cope for a few years. Certainly, we need research or inquiry in order to understand the process more fully.

21. "Coping with the Real Problems in the Secondary Schools," in *An Integrative Approach to Foreign Language Teaching: Choosing Among the Options*, ACTFL Foreign Language Education Series, Vol. 8, ed. Gilbert A. Jarvis (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook, 1976), 179-85.

Conclusion

It has been argued that the circumstances of 1979 blend to form a need. The environment in which we work is more hostile and difficult than ever before. We have learned—a little—in recent years about the second language teaching-learning process. What we have learned and what we see in our environment seem to converge to create the need for adaptive, analytical teachers. In one sense, this argument is merely an exhortation for better teaching—the perennial exhortation of all who communicate to educators.

There is more to this message, however. It is important partly for what it is not. It is not a call for innovative programs, for something new and exciting to revitalize the profession. It is not an argument for new public relations efforts or campaigns to increase enrollments. It is not even a call for new research thrusts. It is a focused argument, one that says that a change in the way second language teachers perceive their role and their behavior can make a substantial change in the quality of instruction. We would not ever be able to measure such change and tie it to changes in teacher perception. Skeptics will, therefore, dismiss any such argument as ephemeral or pure rhetoric. (They then must also dismiss the effects of perceptions on the shaping of national institutions: witness the changes in many politicians' views in recent months. They must also deny a vast body of knowledge in psychology where the self-concept, a perception, is considered crucial.) There is a definite temptation to resort to slogans—not because slogans are inherently desirable, but because, in the 1979 version of the world, slogans usually accomplish their goals. We could easily argue for new beginnings, our real basics, or a new look from within. Slogans do not, however, seem genuine enough. They are gaudy and loud. The need is for quiet—quiet so that each of us can think, so that each of us can reflect and ask ourselves how we might be different if we thought more about each decision we make in our classrooms—especially decisions that are not now decisions but are only reflex reactions. The reality and the vision might then move just a little closer to one another.

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1978 Stephen A. Freeman Award Article

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1. Since writing this article I have come across a report, "The Jigsaw Route to Learning and Liking" by Aronson et al. in *Psychology Today* 8, 9 (February 1975), pp. 43-50. By using combining arrangement activities with small groups within a larger class, the positive feelings of group members towards each other, including those from different racial groups, increased. The children in the groups had a greater liking for school, and had a more positive view of themselves compared to children in the control groups who did not use the combining arrangement.

I. S. P. Nation
Victoria University of Wellington (New Zealand)

*The Combining Arrangement: Some Techniques**

There are various ways of arranging work in language classes.[1] The superior-inferior work arrangement is the most common. In this arrangement the teacher or a substitute presents material to the learners. The teacher, in the superior position, controls the pace of presentation, knows what the correct answers should be, and is the focus of attention. The dictation exercise is an example of this arrangement. There are other arrangements (see Nation, 1976) but one has received much less attention than it deserves. This is the combining arrangement.

In the combining arrangement the learners are on an equal footing. They each have different information that the others need to complete a piece of work. Because of this, each learner must communicate his information to the others so that all the information can be combined to complete the piece of work. Before considering other important features of the combining arrangement, let us look at several techniques that are based on this arrangement.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE COMBINING ARRANGEMENT

The clearest example of the combining arrangement can be seen when the learners work in pairs. In each pair, one learner (A) has a sheet of paper with fifty simple numbered pictures on it. The other learner in the pair (B) has a similar sheet except that about half of his pictures are the same as learner A's and the other half are not the same as learner A's. Here is what part of the two sheets might look like (Figure 1).

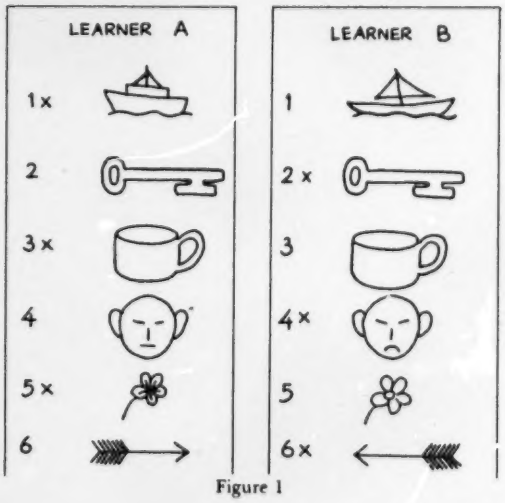

Figure 1

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Learners A and B sit facing each other. They must not be able to see the information on each other's sheet. Because there is a cross next to item 1 on his sheet, learner A begins by describing the first picture. Learner B listens carefully to this description, asks learner A any questions that he needs to, and looks at the first picture on his sheet to decide if his picture is exactly the same as learner A's or not. If learner B thinks it is the same he says "the same" to learner A and they *both* write S next to item 1 on their sheets. If after listening to the description given by learner A, learner B thinks his picture is different, then he says "different" and both learners write D next to item 1 on their sheets. When the first item has been completed learner B begins describing item 2 because there is a cross next to item 2 on his sheet. Each pair works through the items in this way. After five or ten items have been completed the learners change partners. When all the items have been completed learners A and B in each pair put their two sheets next to each other and compare the pictures to see if their answers were correct.

In this technique as in all techniques based on a combining arrangement each learner has information, a picture, which he must communicate to his partner so that the information each learner has can be combined to complete the activity, in this case to decide if the two pictures are the same or different. This technique involves the learners in real communication and is excellent for providing a large amount of conversation practice in the foreign language.

The essential feature of the combining arrangement is that only by cooperating in combining their material can the learners find the required answers. A learner could not find the answer by only looking at his own material.

EXAMPLES OF THE COMBINING ARRANGEMENT AT DIFFERENT LEVELS

Depending on the material used, the combining arrangement can be used with any language learners from beginners to advanced students.

If instead of containing pictures, learners A and B's sheets contain letters, words, phrases, or sentences, then there is much less freedom and more guidance in speaking. Here are some examples (Figure 2). In all of these examples learners complete the activity by deciding if two items are the same or different.

Learner A		Learner B	
1x	a	1	e
2	d	2x	d
3x	r	3	r
4	p	4x	b

Figure 2

I This technique gives the learners practice in pronouncing the names of the letters of the alphabet. Learner A says "a." Learner B looks at his first item and decides if it is the same as learner A's. If he thinks it is not, he says "different" and the two learners write D next to item 1. Then learner B says "d" and learner A says "the same" or "different." So, for this technique as for the one described previously the whole class is

divided into pairs. The two members of each pair sit facing each other. After a set time or set number of items the learners change partners so that in each pair learner A works with a different learner B.

II Instead of letters of the alphabet, minimal pairs can be used (Figure 3).

Learner A		Learner B	
1x	pin	1	pin
2	four	2x	pour
3x	fan	3	pan
4	pair	4x	fair
5x	pin	5	fin

Figure 3

This technique gives the learners practice in pronouncing and listening to minimal sound contrasts. If one learner is not sure of what he hears, he can ask the other learner to repeat. So, in the combining arrangement the learners have more control of the material than they have in a superior-inferior arrangement.

III In the two preceding examples the learners' attention has been on the form of language items. In the following example attention is directed to meaning (Figure 4).

Learner A		Learner B	
1x	It is expensive.	1	a car
2	water	2x	We can cut it.
3x	We carry it in our pocket.	3	an umbrella
4	a pen	4x	We use it to write with.

Figure 4

Here the learners must decide if a word and a short description refer to the same idea or if they refer to different ideas. Instead of words and descriptions, opposites or synonyms can be used. Sentences can also be compared with each other (Figure 5).

Learner A		Learner B	
1x	It is expensive.	1	It costs a lot of money.
2	John is my friend.	2x	I hate John.

Figure 5

The learners must decide if one sentence is a reasonable paraphrase of the other (S) or if the two sentences have quite different meanings (D).

IV In the three preceding examples the material consisted solely of letters, words or sentences. A combination of words or sentences and pictures can also be used. Because

of the use of pictures the technique gives the learners more freedom in what they say. In the three preceding examples the learners just had to repeat what was written on their sheets and reach a decision as a result of that. But, if the item with an x next to it contains a picture, then the learner who begins that item must provide a suitable name or description of that picture himself. See Figure 6.

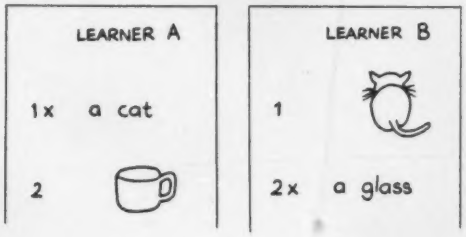


Figure 6

If, however, the picture occurs in the item without an x next to it, the technique makes use of recognition rather than recall. See Figure 7.

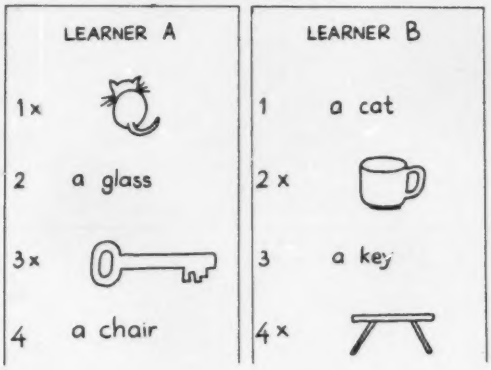
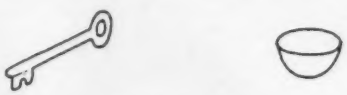


Figure 7

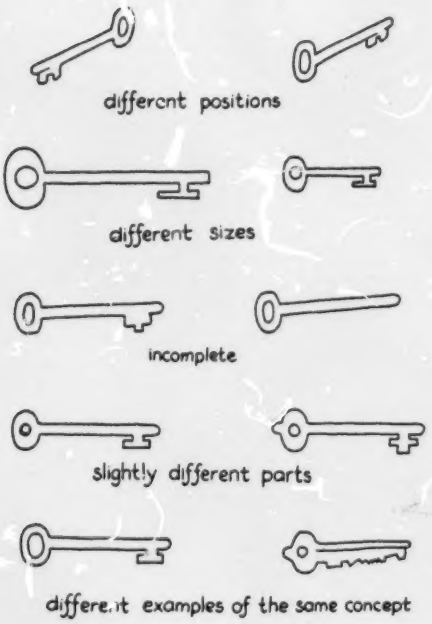
V Instead of words and pictures, short descriptions and pictures, riddles and pictures, or definitions and pictures can be used.

VI When only pictures are used the learners must provide their own descriptions. In the first example in this article only pictures were used, and the learners had to decide if their pictures were exactly the same or not.

Two pictures can be different from each other in several ways. Here are most of the possibilities.



different objects



VII Instead of pictures of real things, abstract pictures can be used (see Byers, 1973). See Figure 8.

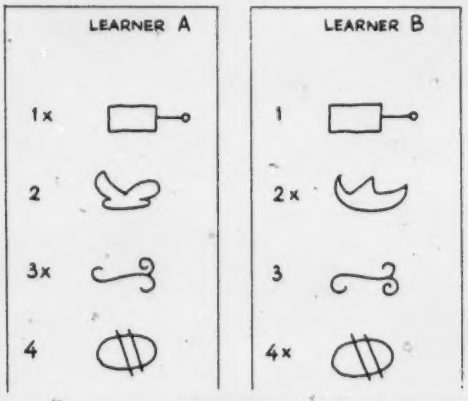


Figure 8

This technique provides opportunity for a lot of creative language work and is the most successful combining technique I have tried.

The examples given above show how the combining arrangement can be used with learners at different levels of mastery of the foreign language. If the items on the sheets are all written, then less creative use of the foreign language is required than if the items are pictures.

FURTHER APPLICATION OF THE COMBINING ARRANGEMENT

All the techniques described previously required the learners to decide if two items were the same or different. There are other possibilities.

I Learners A and B have the same pictures, words, definitions, etc. on their sheets, but the items are in a different order on the two sheets. (Figure 9).

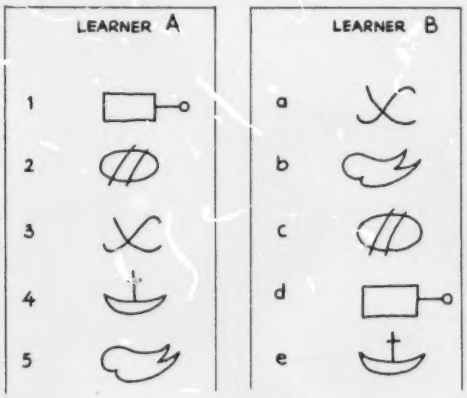


Figure 9

The learners take turns describing, and they must match their items. So, if learner A describes his item 1, learner B will answer d. Learner A writes D next to 1 on his sheet and learner B writes 1 next to d on his sheet.

II A multiple-choice approach can be used (Figure 10).

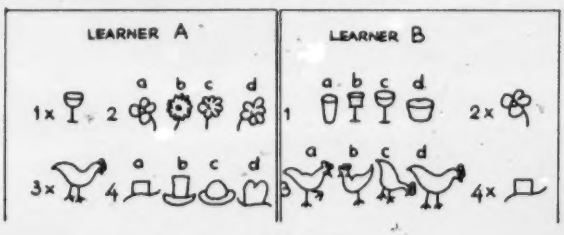


Figure 10

The disadvantage with this technique is that the teacher needs to draw a large number of pictures. However, once the teacher has shown the learners an example of this technique, groups of learners can prepare the sheets for each other.

III A dictation passage is divided up among the two members of each pair. So learner A has the first, third, fifth, etc. sentences and learner B has the second, fourth, sixth, etc. sentences. The two learners dictate to each other so that finally both have the complete passage.

IV A picture story is divided up among the two members of each pair. Learner A has the first, third, and fifth pictures in the story and learner B has the second, fourth and sixth pictures in the story. The learners take turns to describe their pictures and they both write a short composition based on the story in the pictures.

V Both learners have a copy of the same picture except that parts of learner A's picture are missing and different parts of learner B's picture are missing. By describing their pictures to each other the learners can complete their pictures. To prepare for this exercise, the teacher selects a suitable cartoon picture from a book or newspaper. He makes two photocopies of it, and on each of the photocopies blanks out different parts using typists' white correcting fluid. A stencil can be made from the two photocopies.

VI Learner A has a story with words missing from it. Learner B has a list of the missing words. Learner A reads his story to learner B and when learner A reaches a blank, he stops and learner B suggests words from his list. They both decide which word is suitable.

VII There are many other completion techniques like the one just described. Instead of an incomplete story and a list of words, the learners can have an incomplete description (A) and a picture corresponding to the complete description (B), incomplete sentences (A) and a complete story (B), and so on.

VIII The learners each have a similar passage. One learner reads the passage while the other listens and checks his own passage for any words or phrases that are different from his partner's version. The learners underline the different points in their passages. Pictures can also be used. The learners compare their pictures by describing them and either circle or list the differences.

IX Learner A has half of the sentences in a story and learner B has the rest of the sentences. A and B read their sentences to each other and try to put the sentences in order so that they make a logical story. A series of pictures that tell a story may be used instead of sentences.

THE COMBINING ARRANGEMENT IN GROUPS

The combining arrangement is not limited to work in pairs. Gibson (1975) describes a combining technique that is done with a group of about ten people or more working together. For this technique the teacher chooses a story which has as many sentences as there are learners in the group. He chooses a story that the learners have not seen before and he writes each sentence from the story on a different piece of paper. Each learner is given a different sentence. He has to memorize the sentence and then destroy the piece of paper. Then each learner tells his sentence to the others in the group and without doing any writing at all the learners must organize themselves to solve the problem of putting the sentences in the right order to tell the story. The teacher takes no part in the activity.

The most important point about the use of the combining arrangement in groups is

that the conversation that arises as a result of trying to do the exercise is more important than the exercise itself. Gibson (1975) describes his technique as "a catalyst for communication."

Another way to use the combining arrangement in groups is to give each learner a different word or sentence to memorize. After they have memorized their words the learners must classify them into three different groups. Together the learners must discover the basis of the classification. In a very simple version each learner has one of the following words:

a duck	a horse	a monkey
a hen	a man	a woman
a cat	a turkey	a boy

By telling each other their words and discussing the similarities and differences between them the learners arrange themselves into three groups: a duck, a hen, a turkey; a horse, a monkey, a cat; a man, a woman, a boy. In a more complicated version each learner can be given one each of the following sentences:

It is made of paper.	It has four wheels.
It grows on a tree.	It has many pages.
It is long and yellow.	It contains names and numbers.
People eat it.	It can carry many people.
It is used for going from one place to another.	

The nine sentences describe three things. The learners try to decide what these three things are and arrange the sentences into three groups. The answers to the above problem are a telephone book, a bus, and a banana.

THE NATURE OF THE COMBINING ARRANGEMENT

In a combining arrangement the material is divided equally between the members of the pair or group. Any one learner cannot find the correct answer only by studying his own material. Thus there is a need for each person in the pair or group to communicate with the other(s) so that they can combine their material to reach the correct answer. The combining arrangement contrasts with the superior-inferior arrangement where one learner possesses all the information and with the cooperating arrangement where all learners have exactly the same material in front of them. Because there is a need to communicate, the combining arrangement, particularly when pictures are used, is ideally suited for real conversation practice. The correctness of the answers reached in a combining arrangement is a measure of the learners' ability to communicate with each other. It is not a measure of the phonological or grammatical correctness of the communication. It is probably true to say that when a combining arrangement is used the teacher will hear more errors in thirty minutes than he would hear in a month with any other arrangement. The teacher can console himself with these thoughts.

(1) In a combining arrangement the foreign language is being used in a purposeful way.

(2) Many of the errors are likely to be errors of surface structure that occur because the learners are not used to communicating in the foreign language. These errors disappear as the learners gain confidence and have more practice.

(3) Because the learners are communicating with each other as equals and the teacher is not involved, they are not anxious about speaking as they would be in a superior-inferior arrangement.
(4) *All* learners are actively using the foreign language.
(5) Because the combining arrangement requires the learners to cooperate to achieve communication, they help each other improve their ability at communication. For this reason when groups or pairs are made, it is best to have learners of differing ability in the same group, rather than have all the weaker learners together.
(6) The combining arrangement encourages cooperative attitudes among the learners and reduces unwanted competition.
(7) Techniques using a combining arrangement are fun. Because the emphasis is on communication in a combining arrangement it is important that the following things happen.

Because the emphasis is on communication in a combining arrangement it is important that the following things happen.

(1) The learners should communicate in the foreign language without using the mother tongue.
(2) The learners should not see each other's sheet containing the material. So the learners should sit facing each other and hold their sheets up rather than laying them on the desk.
(3) The learners should ask each other to repeat, ask questions, or ask for extra information to make sure that the communication is successful.
(4) There should not be too much concern about phonological or grammatical correctness if it does not affect communication.

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